The Social Contract

Vol. IX, No. 2 Winter 1998-99

Highlights

David Simcox edits our feature section on secure ID, including articles on technology by Tod Newcombe, and on the abuse of the passport process by David North.

The plebiscite in Puerto Rico provided an opportunity for English Language Advocates to make the case for Official English as part of any statehood push.

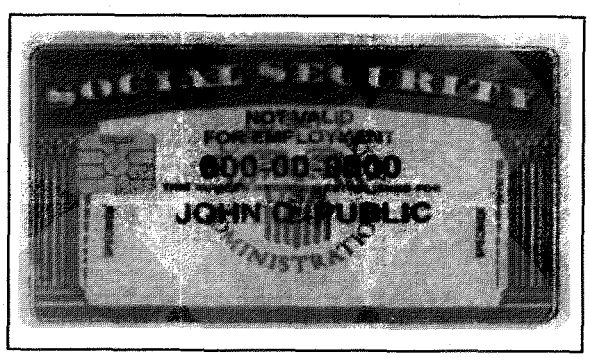
Linda Thom analyzes the figures to demonstrate that immigration is driving up rates of poverty.

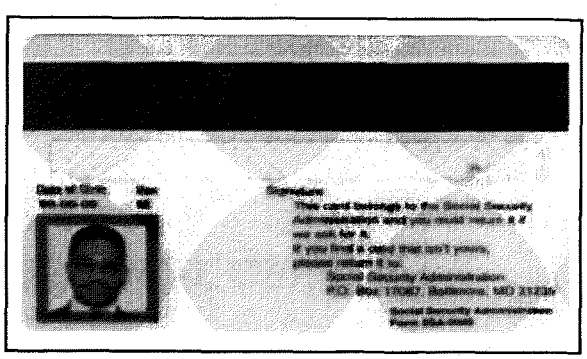
Flight from Miami is documented by two area journalists.

Immigration specialist James Walsh predicts a new wave of migration from Southeast Asia to the U.S.

The book review section gives readers a wide selection of recent titles

Secure Identification and Immigration Enforcement





The Social Security Administration, in a report to Congress, is suggesting a more secure identification such as the above.

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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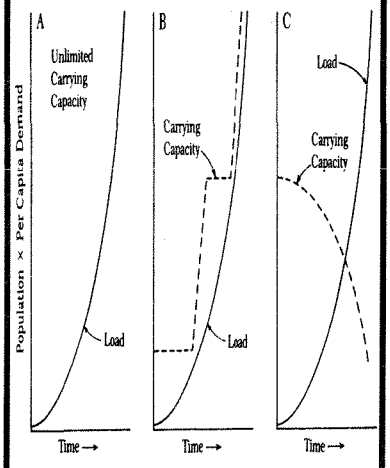

Overshoot

The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change

WILLIAM R. CATTON JR.

Foreword by Stewart Udall

"An impressive challenge to the cornucopian myth combined with a powerful stimulus for shifting to a more realistic paradigm. . . . A book of exceptional importance." — *Worldview*

"Overshoot succeeds admirably in dissecting American technomania. . . . Includes a rich bibliography. Highly recommended." — *Choice*

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A Note from the Editor

As most readers of this magazine are well aware, this past December American unity nearly suffered another blow when Puerto Ricans were encouraged to vote for statehood. That they rejected statehood, despite the warm endorsement of official Washington, D.C., is to our good fortune. But as several of the articles in this issue explain, it was another close call.

That we even have a Puerto Rico question is one of the regrettable legacies of the Spanish-American War of 1898. War with Spain was popular at the time, and was portrayed to the public as a crusade to liberate Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from the oppression of feudal Spanish colonialism. A few colorful heroes emerged (including Teddy Roosevelt and Admiral Dewey), and both commercial and naval expansionists were pleased [Philippine naval bases brought the U.S. three thousand miles closer to the China Market]. As U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain John Hay remarked after the war, "It has been a splendid little war; begun with the highest motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favored by that fortune which loves the brave."

Wiser heads warned that the U. S. was making a mistake by engaging in imperialist ventures. Such expansion violated the spirit of liberty that was fundamental to the founding of the Republic. Others saw the American character as something unique that could be threatened once we took in others from incompatible cultures. As far back as 1844, Emerson opposed Texas annexation, fearing the attempt to ingest its population would fatally compromise the integrity of the American people. He predicted that "the United States will conquer Mexico, but it will be as the man who swallows the arsenic, which brings him down in turn. Mexico will poison us." Over a half century later, William Graham Sumner observed in his celebrated Yale speech, "The Conquest of the United States by Spain," that the Spanish-Americans "are hostile to our ideas. Our religion, language, institutions, and manners offend them. They like their own ways...It follows, then, that it is unwisdom to take into a State like this [the U.S.A.] any foreign element which is not congenial to it. Any such element will act as a solvent upon it."[1]

If the United States is once again to be a real nation, and not a congeries of alienated peoples competing for advantage, then the Puerto Ricans must be encouraged to go their own way. Independence respects their distinctiveness...and ours.

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D., Editor

[1] c.f. *On Liberty, Society, And Politics: The Essential Essays of William Graham Sumner*, edited by Robert C. Bannister (Indianapolis, IN: The Liberty Fund, 1-800-955-8335; also available through www.amazon.com).

Letter to the Editor

[*William Paddock wrote an essay for our Mathus issue on the importance of climate as we discuss population growth and food production. He mentioned his long association with the Zamorano agricultural college in Honduras. In the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch,* The Social Contract *asked Dr. Paddock to give our readers an update on the situation in that country.*]

Dear Editor:

Since Mitch my e-mail has been busy. Correspondents are asking, "How fared the agricultural college" of which I wrote in the Malthus Bicentennial issue of *The Social Contract*, "Malthus — Right or Wrong?" (Vol.VIII, No. 3, p.197). The good news is it suffered little apparent damage. Its six-square-mile campus lies in a gently sloping Honduran valley and its cut stone buildings are as solid as Gibraltar. The bad news is its labor force, living in the adjacent hills in the village of Jicarito, suffered terribly. Zamorano's board is considering taking a million dollars from the school's endowment in order to repair the destroyed homes.

Other e-mail labeled Mitch just another wake-up call for the tropics to do something about its population growth since the area suffers from a whole range of unsolvable problems. True. *The New York Times* quoted a Nicaraguan victim, "In the last twenty-five years I have gone through a volcano eruption, floods, earthquake, two civil wars, and now Mitch. Has God no mercy?"

At a dinner party last week (I write this from Guatemala) I heard countless tragic stories about Mitch.

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One person, a car dealer, had just off-loaded from Japan 156 cars and, before they could be moved from the dock area, they were flooded with ten feet of water. All spoke of landslides or flooded homes, missing bridges, no potable water, flooded fields. One described watching a 55 gallon drum fill with rain water in an hour (could it be possible?). The hostess complained of lack of vegetables for dinner. But no one mentioned the country's greatest loss — the leaching, flooding away forever, of soil nutrients. The best guess is that all of Central America, except Costa Rica, received an average of 2 feet of rain in a three-day period.

No, God doesn't seem to have much mercy for those tropical countries with one resource — agriculture. Most such countries are mono-cultural, at least as far as their export earnings. In the case of Honduras bananas are the number one export and the plantations were totally destroyed while the coffee harvest, the second largest export, was largely destroyed. It will be three years before there is a banana crop and two for a significant coffee crop. Thus, for the next two years Honduras will live off a dole (foreign aid, World Bank loans, etc.). After Mitch, Carlos Flores, the Honduran president asked that the nation's foreign debt be canceled, saying, "If we cannot pay for even the most basic things now, we can hardly pay on a debt that has been *unpayable from the beginning.*" (Italics mine)

One might believe that Honduras is poor because every time it gets on its feet, something like Mitch comes along and knocks it back down. But natural disasters are only part of the problem. Perhaps a bigger problem is that Central American doers are no longer farm-oriented and place too many priorities ahead of agriculture. The same applies to the whole world which no longer has any movers and shakers who think like farmers. Thus, the president of Honduras at this moment should be more concerned over the loss of soil nutrients and pleading for massive donations of fertilizer (of which his country produces none) rather than debt relief.

The truth is that even after fifty years trying and billions in foreign aid, no one has learned how to overcome the limitations climate places on the tropics — certainly not enough to compensate for its uncontrolled population growth. And worse, we don't *know* we don't know. We no longer have technicians with farm experience who can tell us. President Jack Kennedy replaced U.S. foreign aid field technicians with loan officers and the learning stopped. In the words of Wolfgang Sachs, "The idea of development today stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape, its shadow obscures our vision." Blind faith, rather than factual evidence of progress, is the lubricant that keeps the foreign aid flowing to the tropics, to Somalia, Haiti, Honduras, etc., etc.

Central America has $14 billion in foreign debt. We might as well garner a little good will and write it off now rather than later. Further evidence of the poverty resulting from agriculture's inability to satisfy the needs of the expanding population of the tropics is found in civil unrest and in massive emigration to the temperate zone.

Global warming assures another Mitch. When it or some other catastrophe causes another short fall in agricultural production, it is not unreasonable to expect that the area's fragile stability will collapse into some form of anarchy.

For example, the Guatemalan government has taken steps to which the local press responded under the heading: "Hurricane Fallout — Constitutional Guarantees Swept Away by Mitch."

The constitutions of Central American governments all have a section commonly referred to as "guarantees" which are the equivalent of the U.S. Bill of Rights. In times of stress it is not unusual to have the "guarantees removed." As a result of Mitch, the Guatemalan government recently declared a "State of Emergency" which removes the citizens' guarantees of freedom of movement and of legal procedure before any arrest. They will remain suspended until the first of the year. Until then the government authorities can restrict the movement of citizens, prevent them from changing homes, expel whomever the authorities choose from the country and also decide who can hold a passport and enter or leave. In addition security forces do not need a judicial order to arrest someone. Already, because of Mitch, similar "guarantees" have been suspended in Honduras.

The decline of government into anarchy usually takes the following steps: civil unrest can require even the most open democracy to restrict freedoms; if further repression (removal of "guarantees") is instituted, dictatorial powers result; if things worsen further, even repression cannot maintain order and anarchy results. This is not to suggest that this will be inevitable in Guatemala and Honduras but to indicate how easy it is for countries with a short history of democracy to move from one step to the next.

WILLIAM C. PADDOCK, Antigua, Guatemala

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Establishing Identity

A focus on technology

by Tod Newcombe

The prison population of Middlesex County, Mass., has grown significantly in recent years, but the size of its correctional staff has not kept pace. The disparity has led to problems tracking prisoners' identities, including mixups where wrong prisoners were transported to court for arraignments and trials. "That screws up court dates, transportation, and wastes time," remarked Alex Leone, information technology director for the Middlesex County Sheriff's Department.

To ensure the accuracy of identification procedures for prisoners and detainees, the county has installed a $1.3 million fingerprint identification and tracking system that will use a database of text information, fingerprint images and mug shot photos to help personnel accurately identify prisoners. Leone said the technology is well worth the investment — primarily for safety and efficiency reasons. "The bottom line," he said, "is that we want to make sure we are not releasing the wrong person back into society."

Since the 1980s, law enforcement agencies have been using computers to match fingerprints taken from crime scenes with prints from established criminal files. The early systems ran on mainframes and were too expensive for all but the largest law enforcement agencies in the country. With lower hardware and software costs, however, owning an automated fingerprint identification system has become less of an issue for mid-sized agencies.

At the same time, new forms of biometric technology have appeared, as have new uses for identification technology. Beside prisons and police, a number of federal and state government agencies are beginning to use identification technology to help recognize and track individuals.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is developing a database of fingerprints for all illegal aliens intercepted entering the United States from Mexico. The agency also runs fingerprint checks on individuals who apply for citizenship. In addition, counties and states are investing heavily in identification technology to cut down on welfare fraud.

All these identification programs benefit from rapid improvements in software that can match biometric identifiers, such as fingerprints, hands and retinas; computers that can process huge database searches in seconds; and networks that enable dozens, even hundreds, of locations to transmit search requests without long waits for results.

Privacy

But as the pool of individuals required to use these systems grows, so do worries about privacy. Meanwhile, concerns have been raised about the proliferation of computerized identification systems and what some people consider the inevitable linking of databases.

In his article, "Touching Big Brother," a British professor, Simon G. Davies, warns that "from the perspective of individuals, any move toward a biometric identifier carries enormous risk." He goes on to say that "if a scheme is applied across multiple organizations, behavior in relation to one organization might lead to a domino effect of 'cross enforcement' activities, involving suspension of entitlements or benefits by other organizations. Individuals who cannot, or will not, use the

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***Tod Newcombe** is Associate Editor of* Government Technology. *This article appeared in their March 1997 issue.* *Copyright © 1997 by* Government Technology, *it is reprinted with permission.*

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prescribed system may become outcasts on the edge of society."

Identifying the Right Technology

Using biometrics to identify a person is nothing new. It has been going on ever since the ancient Egyptians started keeping measurements of their pharaohs. In the 20th century we have learned how to scan and measure a range of unique identifiers of the body, from microscopic blood vessels that appear on the retina of the eye and the geometry of the hand, to ridges on the surface of the skin, or the aural patterns of the voice.

Computers have raised the sophistication and accuracy of biometric identification to new levels. According to Davies, computers that scan a retina are extremely accurate. Studies show fingerprint identification systems can be accurate 99.9 percent of the time. Performance has also improved significantly in recent years. Workstation computers can find and match fingerprint images in a few seconds, making identification a realtime operation.

Federal, state and local governments have tested just about every type of biometric technology that is commercially available. According to a report released by the General Accounting Office (GAO) on identification technology, the Federal Bureau of Prisons uses hand geometry to identify staff, inmates, and even visitors. Hand geometry systems measure the height of the hand, the distance between knuckles and other information that is converted into an algorithm. At one prison site, the geometry system has checked over 200,000 hands without an error.

Prisons have also adopted retina scans, primarily to identify inmates when they are released from custody. Retinal-scan devices capture the unique pattern of blood vessels in the person's eye. The scanned image is turned into an algorithm that can be stored by the computer. Identification usually works when an individual enters a personal identification number (PIN) into the computer and then places his or her eye over a lens, which aligns the eye for proper scanning. If the blood-vessel algorithm and PIN match, the person is identified. According to GAO, an eye pattern is affected only by a serious eye illness or injury, such as a detached retina.

"Computers have raised the sophistication and accuracy of biometric identification to new levels."

Voice verification relies on identifying a person according to certain vocal characteristics, such as bass and treble tones, vibration in the larynx, throat and nasal tones and air pressure. These characteristics give individuals a unique sound that the computer can convert into an algorithm for identification. While less common than other forms of biometric identification, at least one local government is known to use it to control employee access and prevent thefts at one of its maintenance buildings.

Fingerprinting has become the dominant form of biometric identification today. It's considered the most feasible to operate on a large-scale basis, which is why electronic fingerprinting is growing among non-criminal applications. With no two fingerprints alike, agencies can easily capture a set of prints using small scanners that digitize fingerprints by automatically creating a spatial map of the unique arches, loops and whorl patterns on each print. The computer matches prints by scoring how close a potential match comes to the print, based on the information stored in the database.

A Standard Is Chosen

The Middlesex County Sheriff's Department went with a fingerprint identification system because the technology has been proven to work. "It's something reliable we felt we could stick with," said Leone. "Maybe down the road the retina scan will be the way to go, but we wanted to go with something proven among law enforcement agencies."

The county's identification system runs on Windows NT and was built and installed by Unisys Corp. using software from The MCL Group, a firm that special-

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izes in tracking systems. The identification system operates on a wide area network that links the county's prison in Billerica with its jail in Cambridge over a T1 line. The system, known as POSITRAC, supports 110 users and includes a sophisticated inmate tracking system.

Middlesex County also chose fingerprint identification because the state and neighboring jurisdictions use or plan to install the same technology. "We want to hook up to the state police electronically," said Leone, "so we can share fingerprint images." He explained that if a detainee is also wanted by the state police the county can transfer him and avoid the high cost of incarceration.

Connecticut has selected fingerprint identification for the same reason, although its use for the technology is much different. In January 1996 the Department of Social Services (DSS) installed a fingerprint identification system to eliminate dual-enrolments in the state's welfare assistance programs.

According to David Mintie, digital imaging coordinator for DSS, a prime reason the state chose fingerprinting over other biometric technologies was to share the images with other states. "Connecticut is very interested in matching our finger images with neighboring states, such as New York and New Jersey," he said.

Connecticut's decision to identify welfare recipients is part of a growing trend in state and county government. Hoping to eliminate what they believe to be a significant problem with welfare programs, states are pouring millions of dollars into identification systems. Various law enforcement officials estimate the losses from fraud in existing programs, such as food stamps, to be as high as 10 percent annually, but this number has not been verified, according to the GAO. In Los Angeles County, where fingerprint identification technology was first used with welfare recipients, an independent study has shown a fraud rate of between 1.5 percent and 2 percent.

A member of *The Social Contract* staff recently was asked to leave a thumbprint sample on a check being cashed. He was given this explanation of the program:

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We're making it easier to fight check fraud

Check fraud costs banks and customers millions of dollars each year. Beginning November 1, 1998, Old Kent will fight back against crime and help protect our customers against criminals who commit check fraud by joining the Thumbprint Signature Program.

The program is very simple, when cashing a check, all non-Old Kent account holders will be asked to make a thumbprint on an inkless fingerprinting device that leaves no ink stain or residue. The Thumbprint Signature will be placed on the face of the check between the memo and signature lines.

Old Kent will not maintain a database of Thumbprint Signatures. This information will only be used by law enforcement officials in cases where fraud is suspected.

This new program will not apply to Old Kent Bank account holders. However, if you wish to cash a check at another bank where you are not a customer, you may be asked to provide a Thumbprint Signature by that bank.

We're excited about this new program and we hope that you support our fight against crime. Together, we can send a clear message to criminals that Old Kent and its customers will not tolerate check fraud.

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Even with these low numbers, governments consider identification systems a worthwhile investment and fingerprinting the choice for identifying recipients. "We decided to use finger imaging largely because it was the single biometric that was emerging in the human services field," said Mintie. He pointed to its use in virtually every other state welfare agency that had an identification system installed or under development. Mintie added that not only was finger imaging a proven technology, but it worked with large databases. "A lot of other biometrics have been demonstrated in smaller situations, such as access control, but they really haven't been proven with a larger database," he said.

Since the program began, Connecticut has fingerprinted 86,000 recipients in its General Assistance and Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs.

How Much Identification Do We Need?

While states and counties are installing biometric identification systems to deter double-dippers in their welfare programs, the federal government is considering the use of identification technology as part of a national electronic benefits transfer program. This would allow welfare recipients to receive cash payments and to purchase food using an access card that is similar to a bank's cash and credit cards.

Citing several instances of fraud already uncovered in the limited number of EBT programs operating around the country, GAO has stated that an "EBT program without the enhanced security of biometric verification raises a genuine concern about the potential for increased costs and losses." GAO goes on to say that it optimistically believes "commercial and banking entities that use debit and credit cards will implement biometric safeguards, such as fingerprinting, to protect their customers and themselves."

"While Congress has repeatedly turned down attempts to broaden the use of biometric identification, clearly its use is growing."

Federal interest in expanding identification of citizens has been on and off the burners for some time. Beginning in the 1970s and as recently as 1990, Congress and other federal agencies have considered using biometric identification for various purposes. The Biometric Identification Act of 1990 proposed a mandatory biometric identification system that would have established a pilot program to evaluate the effectiveness of a national biometric driver's license system. The legislation was never enacted, but parts of it ended up in the Immigration Act of 1990.

While Congress has repeatedly turned down attempts to broaden the use of biometric identification, clearly its use is growing. Despite government's reassurance that identification data in a social service program won't be shared with a law enforcement database, evidence may prove otherwise. Davies pointed out that the history of identification systems throughout the world provides evidence of "function creep" where new uses of identification data are found that were not announced or even intended when the system began.

At the same time, however, public concerns about using biometric identification on a broader scale may be changing to accept greater fraud control and security. Attitudes about traditional notions of privacy are also shifting, making identification systems more acceptable. Already a number of countries are instituting national identification systems based on biometric technology. In the United States, surveys among welfare recipients show a high rate of acceptance for identification systems that prove they can curb fraud. If used prudently and according to public standards of privacy, biometric technology may become our prevalent form of identification in the 21st century. TSC

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Screening People Electronically

Technical successes and political failures

by David Simcox

A Mexican citizen driving a late model car bearing a machine-readable border crossing tag approaches a U.S. border checkpoint, using the tag-only express inspection lane. A scanner "reads" the electronic tag on her car and relays an image to U.S. immigration and customs computers at the inspection point. It shows the owner's name, photo, personal data and specifics on the car, as well as any significant antecedents.

Most vehicles get an immediate wave through as intended when the computer confirms the identity of the car, the occupant, and the validity of her visa or border crossing card. This vehicle, however, is stopped. An immigration official has noticed that the computerized photo of the authorized vehicle operator does not match the driver. Further inspection confirms that the driver, who states she borrowed the car, lacks documents to enter and that she has made unauthorized use of Medicaid in past visits. She is returned to Mexico and the person lending the car is investigated for violating the conditions of the electronic tag. A look out notice is appended to that tag number in the computer's data.

The needs for secure identification in so many areas of U.S. society, and the technical advances to answer those needs, are very much the casualties of a lack of political will.

Another new INS system at ports of entry (INSPASS) uses computer matching of hand geometry to admit frequent foreign visitors to the United States, speeding the process and reducing the number of inspectors needed.

At its southern California stations, the U.S. Border Patrol now uses automated fingerprint identification systems (AFIS) to record all apprehended illegal aliens. The fingerprint files, more than a million of them captured in the first year of the IDENT system's operation, are valuable for tracking criminal aliens and multiple violators, and for intelligence on border crossing routes and methods.

Such advances as these in identification science and instant computer verification that have made checking the crush of entrants more efficient and credible also give new hope for developing more comprehensive high-tech systems for instantly distinguishing between those who do not belong in the United States and those who do.

Rising costs of traditional methods, public concern over illegal immigration and alien crime, and diminished concern over possible invasions of privacy have energized the search for better automated systems to protect the borders. The success of Proposition 187 in California in 1994 focused Congress on illegal immigration as never before. Nevertheless, Washington's political will to use these technologies still lags behind the parade of new opportunities they are presenting. Latent ambivalence

***David Simcox** is chairman of the Policy Board of the Center for Immigration Studies, a Washington, D.C. think tank. He is a frequent author on immigration, population and identification subjects, including the 1989 Center for Immigration Studies publication, "Secure Identification: A National Need – A Must for Immigration Control."*

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over both privacy and effective immigration enforcement makes politicians leery of systems that might be too efficient.

Secure Identification Advances in the 105th Congress

Even so, official interest in adopting efficient systems is the keenest in 30 years that immigration has been a core public concern. Public, and thus Congressional demand for action were apparent in the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA). That legislation has 36 new provisions relating to deterrence of document fraud, making identification more secure, and establishing or improving data bases of different non-citizen populations and their hosts and sponsors.

These important innovations in the 1996 act reflect considerable determination among law-makers to end abuses of identification systems and vital records that in the past have been accepted as a given.

Fraudulent Voting

For the first time federal immigration law addresses the problem of preventing non-citizens from voting, a matter formerly left to the states. The reforms include: stiff penalties, including liability to deportation, for non-citizens who vote in federal elections, or who make false claims of citizenship to obtain any government benefit, including voting.

Birth and Death Certificate Abuse

The act takes on the pervasive fraud in vital records kept by the states. States must consult with the federal executive branch to develop standards for birth certificates to be used by federal agencies. After four years federal agencies will be barred from accepting birth certificates that do not meet the higher standards.

Also mandated is Federal aid for pilot projects by states to match birth and death certificates, to curb the "borrowing" of identities from the deceased. The 1996 law has a dozen or more provisions on document fraud, extending the definition, adding or increasing penalties, making violators subject to deportation and property forfeitures, and granting investigators wiretap and subpoena authorities.

Federal Standards for Drivers License Security

In perhaps its most controversial provision, the

PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORTIVE ON NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

Polls have shown that a majority of the American public supports the concept of a national ID card, but that the opposition to it is concentrated among the nation's elites -- professionals and business persons, college graduates, and those with high incomes, generally those groups most secure in their identity and status. A 1983 Gallup poll asked whether " everyone in the United States should be required to carry an ID card, such as a Social Security Card, or not?" Sixty-six percent of all respondents favored the card, and 31 percent opposed.

Gallup asked a similar question in 1993: whether respondents favored or opposed "Requiring all U.S. citizens and legal residents to have national ID cards to distinguish them from illegal immigrants?" . This time 57 percent favored the cards, and 41 percent opposed. In both polls, nonwhite respondents favored the cards more than did whites, though the proposal had majority support among both racial groupings. In 1983 Hispanic support for the card (77 percent) was significantly higher than among other ethnicities.

Hispanic opinion was not discretely measured in the 1993 poll, but it showed "immigrants" favoring the ID card 72 percent to 25 percent.[1] A 1995 Gallup poll showed 62 percent of Americans favored a requirement "that all citizens and legal residents have a national ID card to distinguish them from illegal immigrants." Thirty-seven percent opposed. The 1995 poll had no breakdown by sub-groups.[2]

[1] a) Gallup survey 226-G, Q5b of October, 1983
b) Gallup survey 1005 of June, 1993.

[2] CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll of July 9, 1995.

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1996 act requires the U.S. Department of Transportation to establish format and standards of identification security for state drivers' licenses. Starting in 2000, licences and ID cards will be acceptable for Federal use only if they contain the bearer's social security number and meet Federal identification and security standards.

Federal rule making on this provision has been contentious. Twenty-nine states never have had or have removed the social security numbers from their licences for privacy reasons and a number now strongly oppose restoring it. Critics in Congress and the privacy movement are calling the project a "national ID card." A possible compromise is creation of a new unique number for the licenses and the related State ID using only part of the social security number.

Concern over crime and terrorism impelled FBI Director Louis Freeh in 1996 to insist on tighter controls on the half-million foreign students here.

MONITORING FOREIGN STUDENTS

INS's oversight of foreign students and their university hosts for years has been a story of neglect — with chronic overstays, sizable numbers out-of-status or at large, millions of dollars in undeserved federal subsidies, crime and even terrorism. In 1997 Senate testimony, Senator Diane Feinstein (D-CA) expressed grave reservations about the State Department's practice of issuing visas to terrorist supporting countries and "the INS inability to track those who come into the country using student visas. She charged that between 1991 and 1996 the State Department issued nearly ten thousand student visas to citizens of five terrorist-supporting nations in the Middle East and Africa. Concern over crime and terrorism impelled FBI Director Louis Freeh in 1996 to insist on tighter controls on the half-million foreign students here.

The law called for a pilot system for electronic reporting and monitoring of information on foreign students and exchange visitors, such as identity, whereabouts, academic status, and disciplinary actions. Schools and programs not complying become ineligible for non-immigrant students.

INS, which along with the Departments of State and Education and the U.S. Information Service is a lead agency in the pilot, is now testing a prototype Internet reporting system that will track each student from his initial admission to a U.S. college to his completion of studies and departure or, for many, his transition to permanent resident status. INS and the cooperating universities will jointly produce an ID card for each student admitted, using bar code and magnetic stripe technology.

The system, known bureaucratically as CIPRIS (Coordinated Interagency Program for the Regulation of International Students), is being tested at 22 schools in four southern states. While the technical aspects are promising, the collection and updating of the information will depend on the compliance of often recalcitrant university officials in reporting the data.

BETTER CHECKS AT THE BORDER AND ON NON-IMMIGRANT OVERSTAYS

Particularly controversial in U.S. border regions are two IIRAIRA provisions tightening entry controls. The first is a new laser visa that is machine- readable and has a biometric identifier to be verified at each entry. This document will replace older and often abused versions of border crossing cards issued to some half-million Mexicans.

The laser visa drew little attention when it was legislated. But as the cost and certification demands it will impose on users have become clear, objections have grown among local government, business and ethnic interests in the Southwest. Nothing alarms these interests more than the prospect that immigration control might really work; many illegal immigrants are their customers and clients. They also argue that tighter controls and the high cost of the laser visa (about $42) will slow the flow of Mexican shoppers.

Similar local hostility plagues the second major advance in entry control in the law: a process to track the departures of all non-immigrant visitors from the

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United States as a way of curbing the overstays that account for about 40 percent of the annual growth of the illegal alien population. Border state legislators, led by Senator Abraham of Michigan, managed in 1998 to delay implemen-tation of the project for overland traffic for two and a half years. Civic and business groups at border cities complained that gathering data from departees would slow international traffic and hurt business.

Denying Benefits to the Ineligible

In 1986 Congress mandated INS to create a screening system — "SAVE" — to keep ineligible aliens from getting public assistance benefits. The 1996 law expands the definition of federal benefits to cover such services as drivers' and professional licenses, social security, and student aid. And it further strengthens the information collection needed to make this process work.

Social Security Numbers for Immigration Enforcement

To the unease of privacy advocates, the 1996 law creates new enforcement uses for the social security number (SSN) and lays new verification tasks on the Social Security Administration (SSA), which has long resisted such obligations. SSA must develop a way of matching names and SSN's of job applicants with its records to verify that each SSN is valid for employment — what many regard as a necessary step toward a national worker verification system. SSN's submitted by applicants for new drivers license will be verified by SSA.

The INS is given full authority to require aliens to provide their SSN's for inclusion in INS records. The wonder here is that INS in the more than twelve years since employer sanctions legislation has lacked this authority, relying instead on its own more limited "A-number" series. In keeping with the "immigrant responsibility" features of the 1996 act, sponsors of aliens must now put their social security numbers on affidavits of support for intending immigrants. The alien sponsored is ineligible to naturalize until the sponsor has cleared his debt for any public benefits paid to that alien.

Two more useful provisions of the act fall in the category of "Why-haven't-we-been-doing-it-all-along?" SSA must now report annually on social security numbers that show earnings although they are not valid for work in the United States. SSA was also required to report to the Attorney General on the extent of fraudulent use of social security numbers and cards by aliens.

One of the 1996 law's most portentous provisions directed SSA to develop a prototype of a durable, counterfeit-resistant social security card that provides reliable proof of citizenship or legal residence. Completing its study in 1997, SSA has responded with not one, but seven prototypes of cards, varying as to costs, security features, information storage systems and capacities, and biometrics. They would be issued to an estimated 277 million current card holders over three to ten years at an estimated cost of $5.2 billion to $10.5 billion.[1]

When it comes to detecting and removing criminal aliens, Congress since the late '80s has been less dissuaded by privacy or civil rights arguments.

Criminal Aliens

When it comes to detecting and removing criminal aliens, Congress since the late '80s has been less dissuaded by privacy or civil rights arguments. The 1996 law calls for a registry of aliens on probation or parole. It also makes the provision of false documents to terrorists an excludable act. The act directs INS to operate an around-the-clock system that federal, state and local authorities can use to identify criminal aliens. The system must include the fingerprints of convicted aliens previously arrested or removed from the country.

Other Signs of Progress Toward Better Data and Identification

Despite privacy concerns, Congress has generally shown more willingness since 1990 to approve new data bases and systems of identification and

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monitoring, many of which have potential applications to immigration control. A decade ago most of them would have lacked political support. Time now seems to be on the side of those favoring using more of the country's technological options for law enforcement.

Consider some of the new government data bases and ID systems authorized since 1990.

- The National Voter Registration Act — "Motor-Voter" of 1993 in some ways moved voter registration further toward a pure honor system. However, the law encourages central state voter registries as sources of data and to eliminate duplicate, ineligible and fraudulent registrations.[2]
- The 1996 Welfare Reform Law buttressed the Federal Parent Locator system by authorizing a National Directory of New Hires as a tool for tracking down deadbeat parents for child support. As now written, the law will not permit INS use of the data that would otherwise be so suitable for computer matching.
- The Federal Aviation Agency required airline passenger identification and profiling in its new Computer Assisted Passenger Screening system.
- The states, working with the FBI, have in large part met the Brady Law's requirement for a National Registry of Felons a key data base for instant background checks. "Instant-Check" went into effect on December 1.
- Changes in Internal Revenue Service, SSA, and Department of Agriculture laws and regulations have required higher identification security standards or tighter computer matching to curb fraud and abuse. SSA must have a system to link the SSN's of parents with those of their children and must improve its "death registry" and make it more accessible to other user agencies.
- The use of machine readable, tamper-proof ID documents, drivers and pilots licenses, U.S. visas and passports with digitized photos and signatures or fingerprints has grown rapidly in the 1990s.

Electronic Verification of New Hires — Technically Proven But Politically Shelved

Regrettably, the progress in so many areas of identification and computer matching has not been matched by progress in automated enforcement of employer sanctions — the ultimate test of Washington's commitment to real immigration reform.

The record is 12 years of temporizing and disappointment. A document-based verification system was first recommended in 1979 by the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy — the Hesburgh Commission. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) required consultations with Congress before the executive could move toward such a system. (That legislation, like its counterpart in 1996 explicitly forbade a national ID card.) The Barbara Jordan Commission on Immigration in 1994 unambiguously recom-mended a phone-in or point-of-sale verification system.

Congress had passed a comprehensive welfare reform act which established centralized monitoring of all new hires in the nation to track deadbeat parents, with little debate of its effects on privacy or business.

National Identification Systems: Despite Much Support, a Political Scarecrow

But now, nearly a generation since the Hesburgh Commission, and despite extensive new immigrant identification requirements legislated in 1996, an automated verification system remains voluntary and experimental only. Senator Alan Simpson and Congressman Lamar Smith tried to include mandatory electronic verification in the 1996 law. But a coalition of Libertarian, Catholic, conservative Christian, small business, ethnic, privacy, gun owner and general "anti-

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tax, anti-welfare, anti-police state" groups forced Congress to keep electronic verification voluntary and experimental. The defeat was decisive. In the House only 86 Representatives supported it.

Grover Norquist, a potent conservative lobbyist against immigration controls, successfully demonstrated how to evoke fears of Big Brother. Lobbyists circulated simulated tattoos of bar codes to evoke Nazi concentration camps. They alarmed fundamentalist Christians with the notion that the proposed ID system was "the mark of the beast" warned of in the Book of Revelation. "A government powerful enough to find an illegal alien is also powerful enough to find your bank account," proclaimed Norquist.[3]

"The government can find your bank account, and your earnings and tax compliance, driving record, criminal history and credit performance, but cannot (is not allowed to) find an illegal alien."

The deliberate confusion of the debate is striking here, as well as the selectivity with which politicians can play the privacy card. The same year, Congress had passed a comprehensive welfare reform act which established centralized monitoring of all new hires in the nation to track deadbeat parents, with little debate of its effects on privacy or business. Norquist's statement would have been accurate if reversed: "The government can find your bank account, and your earnings and tax compliance, driving record, criminal history and credit performance, but cannot (is not allowed to...) find an illegal alien."

POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION INITIATIVES ELSEWHERE IN THE 1996 LAW

The Social Security Administration is now obliged by statute to ensure a computer matching system capable of verifying that an SSN is valid for employment in ten days or less. This is a critical building block if Congress ever finds the courage to move to a national verification system. The law cuts the confusing list of 25 documents acceptable to prove identity and work eligibility to 13 — for instance eliminating the eminently falsifiable birth certificate and the no-questions-asked voters' registration card.

Recent budget increases have allowed the INS to double the number of its investigators to about 650 nationwide, a move long delayed by anti-sanctions legislators. In 1995 INS admitted that its small staff of 300 investigators nationwide was able to follow-up on only about 20 to 30 percent of the leads on possible violations provided by the Department of Labor. INS investigations of employers slumped from 14,700 a year in 1989 to 5,960 in 1995.[4]

Until now the process has relied on employers to assess in good faith a melange of easily falsified identity and immigration documents presented by new hires, running the risk of discrimination suits if they are too conscientious. The new law keeps the employer as adjudicator, but limits his "good faith" defense and shields him better against discrimination charges. Employers will now face criminal penalties if they knowingly hire ten or more illegal aliens brought in by smugglers.

INS planning and testing of prototype telephone verification systems (TVS) since 1991 give solid evidence that they will work. Voluntary electronic verification tests started with nine employers in two California cities and expanded into five states. The 1996 law extended the pilot for four years to cover 2000 employers in five states in industries prone to hiring illegals — meat-packing, garments, hotels, and poultry. In its initial California pilot the verification system had preliminary "hits" on 20 to 25 percent of alien workers screened and nearly 10 percent were ultimately found to lack work authorization.[5]

By 1996, the expanded California pilot had screened 11,400 aliens and found 25 percent lacking valid work papers.[6] A weakness of these pilots was that job applicants claiming U.S. citizenship were not screened. The latest pilot, however, provides for verification of claimants of citizenship, and a new test of electronic verification using machine-readable drivers' licenses.

Backers of the 1985 IRCA assumed the employers, with proper encouragement, would

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voluntarily refrain from hiring illegals, making extensive verification systems unnecessary. The persistence and spread of illegal aliens in the work place proves this false. Voluntary compliance works for 90 percent of the nation's six million-plus covered employers, boasts the INS. (Labor Department inspectors, however, put the figure at 47 percent). But a hard-core of more than half-million employers will never be interested in voluntary compliance, notes Saskia Sassen, Columbia University scholar of the underground economy. "On the contrary, these places can only exist under an umbrella of violations" of immigration and other workplace laws.[7] Continued failure to enforce sanctions can only drive their competitors to also seek savings through cheap, illegal workers.

CAN MANDATORY ELECTRONIC VERIFICATION BECOME THE LAW OF THE LAND?

Congressional foot-dragging is likely to persist. America's economic boom has dulled public concern about immigration, and a tighter labor markets makes the climate bad for strict controls on hiring. The sense of urgency Congress felt in the wake of Proposition 187 in 1994 has eased. Subsequent Republican electoral losses in California attributed by some part to the party's actions against immigrants have become a pretext for passivity.

Privacy concerns may be uninformed, but they are real among important sectors, and can easily be used by high-immigration advocates to mobilize a range of otherwise supportive constituencies. Public fear of intrusions on privacy will continue to be played on selectively.

Another source of paralysis is the widespread conviction that no system intended to keep illegal aliens out of the workplace will really work, that the underground economy is part of life. The 140-million person labor force and the nearly six million employers seem to many like a mission impossible when compared to INS capability with less than 700 investigators. INS's own history of faulty record-keeping and undistinguished use of automated data systems inspire little confidence.

Yet core public concerns remain that will continue to boost demand for efficient and reliable identification systems for immigration control. Alarm over foreign-based crime and drug smuggling has not faded, while recent events have aroused the public over terrorism.

Even in prosperity, the public also remains concerned over the real and potential welfare and public assistance costs of unselected immigrants and overcrowding in the public school system. Both this concern and the fear of job completion are likely to swell again when the economy cools.

A more recent and likely persistent concern is the effect of massive uncontrolled immigration on such domestic institutions as citizenship and elections. Public sentiment suggests we may be having a resurgence of the new progressive-type reform movement to protect the uniqueness of citizenship and the integrity of the electoral process. There are parallels. The original late 19th-century reform movement, which produced such safeguards as voter registration, was a broad response to the rise of corrupt urban machine politics that often drew its power from the era's massive and unselective immigration into the cities.

Political success will go to those who manage to convince the public that employer sanctions, no less than border controls, are indispensable to allaying these concerns and enhancing our national security. TSC

NOTES

1. Social Security Administration. *Report to Congress: Options for Enhancing the Social Security Card.* SSA Publication No. 12-002, September 1997. See also a review of the report on page 83 of this issue of *The Social Contract.*
2. Federal Electoral Commission. *Developing a Statewide Voter Registration Database.* Washington: Government Printing Office, Autumn 1997.
3. Marcus Stern. "Jobs Magnet." San Diego *Union-Tribune*, July 5, 1998.
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5. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Press Release, February 21, 1995.
6. *New York Times*, May 24, 1996.
7. *New York Times*, February 2, 1995.

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Scaremongering:

To Prevent Illegal Immigrant Screening

by John L. Martin

Our world is changing. Whether for good or for bad depends on your perspective. We less often leave our doors unlocked. We must buckle up. We get scanned by metal detectors when we fly and go into public buildings. We have to identify our dependents on our income tax forms with their Social Security number (SSN). We no longer can drive in front of the White House. Some of the changes, like security screening, we recognize as intrusive but necessary for our own protection. That's similar to the change we now are asked to accept in incorporating our SSN into our driver's license to restore its integrity as an identity document.

Yet, as with all changes, there are persons opposed who argue that our freedoms are being infringed. On this SSN-driver's license issue the opponents of change include such disparate groups as the ACLU on the political left and the Freedom Forum on the right. The issue has been cast as a battle to prevent big government from developing a computerized database on each and everyone of us. But, that is disinformation.

According to Congressman Lamar Smith (R-TX), Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims, "There are people with genuine concerns about privacy, but there are also others who have engaged in fear-mongering. Given the facts, the vast majority of Americans can distinguish the genuine concerns from the distortions and recognize that fraudulent IDs pose a real threat to them and must be addressed in a reasonable way."

Few commentators have given serious attention to the issue. Media analysis of the debate has not dug much deeper than identifying the impetus for the SSN-driver's license match-up as coming from immigration restrictionist forces. In fact the issue has nothing to do with legal immigration, but it does concern adoption of a better control against illegal immigration.

Opponents of the change, spearheaded by the ACLU, have been swift to characterize the issue as the adoption of a "national ID document." As Rep. Smith states, this is patent scaremongering. What in fact is proposed is not a federally-issued document, but rather a decentralized state-maintained database intended to assure the integrity of the state-issued driver's license. It would not have any new documentary purpose beyond those already attached to the driver's license. However, because driver's licenses have become a common identification document for verifying that newly hired aliens are legally entitled to work, counterfeit document rings have proliferated to sell fake licenses. That is what has made essential the adoption of a measure to restore the integrity of the state-issued license as an identity document.

The mass media should remind their readers that the government already has files set up on us and has maintained them for decades without reason for concern. Our SSNs are assigned now at birth, and information on our work history including our earnings is collected by the Social Security Administration (SSA) throughout our life. Separate files are opened by the government on us when we begin earning taxable income. Of course, nobody welcomes the files maintained by the IRS, but we accept them as legitimate, and we hope that the SSA is maintaining our retirement account accurately. If big government were seeking a means to infringe on our personal freedom, it already has that capability. We should keep that in mind when we consider the SSN-driver's license change.

In writing about this issue, the press also ought to remind readers of the magnitude of the illegal alien problem that has given rise to the need for greater

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driver's license security. The government's last estimate of the "resident" illegal aliens is that they numbered five million in 1996 and that their number was growing by about 275,000 per year. These numbers are understated because they ignore all the aliens who enter the country illegally for seasonal work and return abroad later in the year and the aliens who live across the border but work illegally in the United States. The numbers also significantly understate resident illegal alien populations that shy away from census takers. As an example, some experts say there are tens of thousands of illegal Chinese entrants each year, rather than the thousands estimated by the INS. The recent bust of alien smuggling rings bringing in Indians through Cuba and Chinese through an Indian reservation on the U.S.-Canadian border buttresses this assessment.

"[In California] the driver's license has included screening to exclude illegal aliens for several years."

Increasingly, since adoption of the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986, fake driver's licenses have become one of the primary forms of identification purchased by illegal aliens to show to a new employer as "proof' of their work eligibility — along with a fake social security card. Illegal aliens quickly found that they could still get jobs by purchasing phony documents. And employers learned that the INS did not expect them to recognize fake documents.

Illegal aliens include both persons who sneak into the country and those who enter legally and then abuse their visa status by staying and taking jobs. The INS estimates the ratio at about two legal entrants (visa-overstayers) for every three border violators. Some argue that the way to stop illegal aliens is to create greater border security. This ignores the two-fifths of illegal aliens who do not enter that way. They can only be deterred by removing the job magnet and by the threat of detection and deportation. The former is the more realistic objective. In any case, the job of controlling the border will be unnecessarily complicated as long as there is a strong lure of jobs available for successful border violators. Clearly, effective worksite control based on secure and verifiable documents is the key to successful deterrence. The secure driver's license linked to the SSN will not end the illegal alien problem, but it will help to bring it under control. Some states have recognized and faced up to the burden of illegal aliens on their society. California is the best-known example. There, the driver's license has included screening to exclude illegal aliens for several years. Several states already use the SSN as part of the driver's license data, and others offer that as an option. Most states already collect the SSN as part of the license application process. So, what is the impending change?

The issue is not as it is characterized by opponents of the change. They say that the federal government will require the states to put the SSN on the driver's license. Then they warn, anyone will be able to obtain your SSN and access your credit and medical records and anything else you would like to keep private.

This scare tactic has aroused a firestorm of protests from groups around the country despite the fact that no evidence has surfaced that abuse is a problem in states that already include the SSN on the driver's license. Under the proposed system, the SSN is not even required to be included on the license. It can be left in the files. Although the proliferation of fake SSNs makes it appropriate that the number be verified with the SSA.

While many of the organizations and persons who have been roused in opposition to the SSN-driver's license proposal may not fully understand the issues, the same innocence cannot be imputed to the ACLU. It seems clear that the ACLU is doing its best to fuel the passions of uninformed people who are fearful of government intrusion as well as their usually well-informed base of civil libertarians. Because of the ACLU's long-standing opposition to any measures designed to improve government control against illegal aliens, one must wonder if that is not the underlying reason for their position. If better driver's license security will really help prevent illegal aliens

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from getting jobs in the United States and there is no incremental control that the government will gain over our day-to-day existence, then it seems obvious that the SSN-driver's license system is another of the changes in our every-day life that we are unlikely to welcome — like airport screening or wearing seat belts — but which most people will accept. And, if the resulting system achieves its intended purpose of reducing illegal aliens in our society, we are even likely to look back from the next century and point to the change as a welcome development.

A cautionary note must be sounded, however. As we make counterfeit documents more recognizable and, therefore, less usable, there will be a greater effort to furnish illegal aliens with identities of U.S. citizens. This means that we will want to take greater care over the collection and issuance of our identity documents. When a person dies, we will want the vital records authority and the SSA to know that so that an application for a new birth certificate for the deceased will not be honored.

It is a sad commentary on the times we are living that we should have to think about such things, but it is a by-product of our material well-being, our communications revolution, and the technological age we have created for ourselves. Few would want to turn the clock backwards. But, as we move into an uncharted future, we must remain vigilant that we have not opened the doors for the dismantling of the lifestyle we have created. And that means the adoption of prudent security measures such as the SSN-driver's license system. TSC

A Secure, Uniform Social Security Card

A 'How to Do It' Study

Report Review and Commentary by David Simcox

Report to Congress on Options for Enhancing the Social Security Card

SSA Publication No. 12-002

September 1997

It goes without saying that the Social Security Administration (SSA) did not relish the task given it by both the Welfare Reform and Immigration Reform laws of 1996: to develop a prototype of a counterfeit-resistant, tamper-proof social security card that provides individuals with "reliable proof of citizenship or legal resident alien" status.

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From an Honor System to a New and Unwelcome Rigor

The agency prefers that its job description remain what it was at the beginning of the social security system in 1935, to record contributions, compute benefits and pay them out — nothing else. It has never cared for assisting law enforcement, tracking dead people, or helping collect unpaid taxes and child support. Because of the clout conferred by more than a quarter billion constituents, it has been able to avoid or delay many such impositions on its resources.

To enroll in Social Security in 1936, workers had only to self-certify their identity, place and date of birth. There were no checks on personal data, no investigation of legal residence in the United States, no security against multiple enrollments. There wasn't time. Twenty-six million cards had to be issued and two million employers enrolled in about one year.

The Social Security Board devised the now

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familiar nine-digit number at that time. Americans were given a simple paper card confirming their enrollment and their assigned number. The card had no security features, no authentication and was not intended as an identifier. Those were simpler, more trusting times. But beginning in the early 1960s use of the SSN, a unique number conveniently already issued, spread rapidly among government and private institutions which were moving en masse to computers. There were no laws barring such uses and, in the private sector, there still are none. Not until 1978 did SSA require all applicants to prove identify, age, citizenship, or alien status. And only in 1983 did Congress require rudimentary counterfeit-resistant features, such as banknote paper and raised printing, for all new and replacement cards.

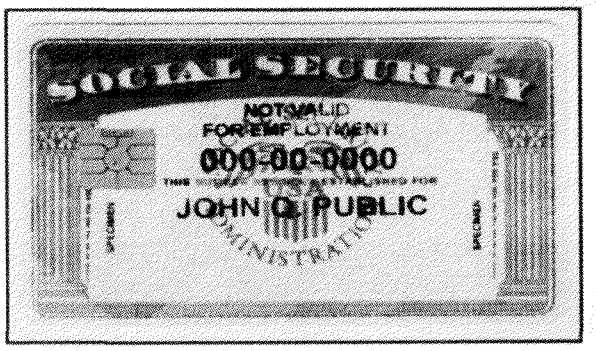
The SSN Meets a Widely Felt Need

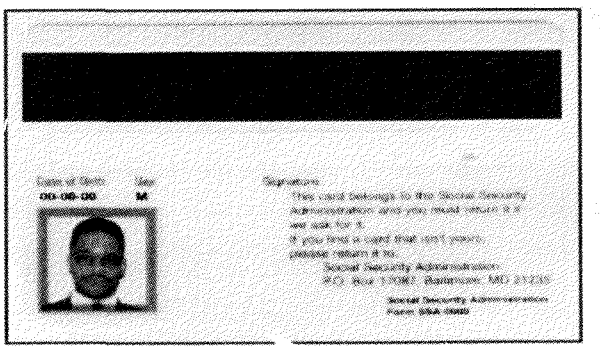
By 1997 387 million social security numbers had been assigned and an estimate 277 million are currently active. Some forty versions of the basic card are still in circulation. SSA issues about six million new cards a year, about half of them to newborns and half to immigrants and temporary visitors. The agency also issues 10 million replace-ment cards each year because of loss, damage or name changes.

Now there are 27 authorized government uses of the number as the identifier for record keeping and computer-matching purposes, and no telling how many private uses. A 1988 survey by Health and Human Services inspectors of the extent of use of the number found 81 percent of public and private institutions used it routinely. Even as the social security number was becoming the numerical identifier of choice, SSA warned repeatedly that the number is not by itself a personal identifier because "it lacks systematic assignment to every person and means to authenticate a person's identity."

Civil liberties and privacy advocates regularly deplore the increasing use of the number in national data bases and the mass monitoring of some personal behavior that it permits. But this same explosive increase in use signals the presence of a deeply felt administrative need for such an identifier in a bureaucratized mass society that steadily increases the number of benefits, rules, restrictions, status distinctions, and record keeping tasks it imposes on the individual, the household, and the organization. Growing complexity and interdependence rapidly increase the societal costs of imposture, fraud, bureaucratic error, sabotage, and the attendant ills of vestigial identity.

Pictured here, as well as on the cover, is a sample of the most technically advanced of the Social Security Administration's prototype secure cards. This version, with a two-kilobyte microprocessor and a magnetic stripe to store digitized biometric, photo and other personal data, is suitable for multiple uses. This sample is marked "Not Valid for Employment." Other notations would be: "U.S. Citizen," "Lawful Permanent Resident," and "Valid for Employment Only With INS Document."





Congress, in ordering this study, is clearly responding to a deep public yearning, despite all the warnings against the intrusions of "big brother," for a comprehensive, credible and secure national identifier. Congress recognizes a need for the numbering system, just as it recognizes that vastly increased use of the number as an identifier in four decades has not degraded the privacy or liberties of individual citizens

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as activists have warned.

Seven Prototype Cards to Illustrate the Choices

Congress in 1996 asked SSA for *a* prototype of a counterfeit-resistant card. The SSA report prudently responds with *seven* prototypes, ranging widely in the extent of their counterfeit resistance, cost, data content and capacity, machine-readability and biometrics. This cafeteria approach is a good way of making us think about how much we are willing to pay for a secure system in money, inconvenience and political stress.

Social Security Card Options	Cost ($ billions)
1. Plastic card with security features and activation label	$3.9
2. Plastic card with picture	$4.3
3. Plastic card with secure barcode storage	$4.2
4. Plastic card with optical storage	$9.2
5. Magnetic stripe card (banking style)	$4.0
6. Magnetic stripe (ID style with picture)	$4.3
7. Smart card with magnetic stripe & picture	$7.3

Source: *Report To Congress on Options for Enhancing the Social Security Card*, pp. 33-35.

All seven options have certain common characteristics making them hard to counterfeit: four-color printing, ultraviolet ink, a transparent hologram similar to that now used on other government ID's, and miniprinting and microprinting, as on U.S. currency. The back of each would have a tamper-proof signature panel. All would have a PVC plastic or PVC polycarbonate base, meeting the highest international standards.

All versions would show the name and social security number. All cards would bear one of the following legends regarding the holder's citizenship and immigration status:

1) U.S. Citizen
2) Lawful Permanent Resident
3) Not Valid for Employment
4) Valid for Employment Only with INS Authorization.

Choices: From Simple Single-Purpose to High-Tech Multi-Purpose

A comparison of the simplest and the most elaborate options illustrates the range of choice. Option one is an inexpensive flexible plastic card with no photo and no biometrics. One variation provides for the initial placement of a label to activate the card by phone within 30 days, a common practice now among credit card issuers. Cost of production and issuance would be about $19.00 per card. SSA estimates the cost of issuing a card in 1996 at $12.50.

The top of the line, option seven, has both a magnetic stripe and a two-kilobyte microprocessor for storing data. There are a digitized photo and personal data. Other biometric data such as digitized finger prints could be stored on the magnetic stripe of this card. Special electronic "readers" would be needed to interact with this model. The high security and data storage capacity would make this card adaptable for other uses. Estimated cost of issuance per person: $26.00.

Card options three through six offer alternate means of data storage such as secure barcode stripe, optical memory stripe, and magnetic stripe, which would be adaptable to other uses. SSA estimates the total cost of producing and issuing the cards over a period of three to ten years for all current card holders would range from $3.9 billion for the basic plastic card to $9.2 billion for Option 4, a four megabyte optical storage card — about $38 per person. If user fees are charged (which SSA opposes), the collection costs would add about $1 billion to the total cost. (See the table of options with costs of production and issuance over three to ten years.)

Mass Reissuance with High Quality Control: A Herculean Administrative Task

SSA warns of significant additional costs after the new card is issued, but does not venture an estimate.

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More frequent reissuances would be necessary to update photos, provide new or additional memory, update technology, and deal with the increased wear and tear caused by more frequent use of the card for non-SSA purposes. Equipment for reading cards, taking biometrics and photos, would require ongoing maintenance and replacement.

In truth, the mass reissuance of 277 million cards would be a herculean administrative task, particularly if fraud, imposture and simple identity confusion are to be kept negligible. While there will be millions who will want to game this process, there are many more residents of this country who are unclear about their own identity and origins, or whether or not they are citizens or legal residents. A great advantage of a universal biometric identifier is not that it would establish everyone's "true identity, " — probably an impossible task in a nomadic world, but that it would restrict every individual to a single identity.

SSA's study assumes that its own staff and 1300 field offices would administer the reissuance, involving a total workload of 67,000 to 73,000 person-years over three to ten years. Every number holder would be required to reapply and provide identification. Some 177 million holders of numbers issued before 1979 would have to prove their citizenship or alien status, as would another 13 million non-citizens given numbers since 1979.

Finding a Route through a Political and Administrative Mine Field

SSA proposes to allow most of these transactions to be done by mail, unless the prospective law requires the applicant to provide a photo or biometric reading. Doing the process by mail and allowing private contractors to provide photos and biometrics (as seen in the mass naturalizations of 1995-1996) would encourage fraud. Yet requiring 277 million residents to visit a social security office could seriously sap political support.

But how does a bureaucracy go about gathering and corroborating personal data and biometric readings on 277 million individuals, carding them with precision, and updating them reliably? The difference between a credible, working real-time system, and an incomplete and error-prone verification, such as the fraud-ridden amnesty of 1987-1988 or the hurried naturalizations of 1996, is in the details. Is there enough discipline among the leaders and clerks of the issuing bureaucracy, the cooperating national and state depositories of personal data, and the hundreds of millions of prospective clients? Some of the best systems are defeated by careless or corrupt officials and employees. Earlier this year SSA's Inspector General broke up a conspiracy between a West African crime gang and employees of West African origin within SSA to steal authenticating personal data for nearly 20,000 stolen social security numbers, which were later used for credit card and change-of-address fraud.

"How does a bureaucracy go about gathering and corroborating personal data and biometric readings on 277 million individuals, carding them with precision, and updating them reliably?"

There are options for easing the inconvenience and administrative burden that the report does not examine. Residents under age 14 and over age 75 could be exempted from issuance of the enhanced card. Grandfathering in residents who already hold reasonably secure evidence of identity and citizenship could cut the workload. Holders of passports and naturalization certificates issued in the past ten years are prospects, as would be senior civil servants and commissioned officers of the armed services.

Judicial and Political Challenges: Is Vague Identification a Right?

Will workers in the reissuance process even be permitted to demand high standards of proof of identity and citizenship status, particularly when complaints of "rigidity," "intimidation," "discrimination" or "selective application" begin to flow in? The past willingness of the courts and congress to settle identification requirements for huge

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classes of people by fiat, such as in the 1987-1988 amnesty has probably not changed.

The ground work for future litigation and congressional pressures in the warnings of Hispanics and other civil libertarians that the poor and racial minorities would have the toughest time complying with a uniform national identification process. Could we expect ad hoc solutions such as that of some state public assistance agencies which issued nine-digit "special numbers" to illegal aliens rather than deny them assistance benefits, or by extending the judicially created amnesty — the concept of "permanently residing in the United States under color of law — PRUCOL"to social security enrollment?

Without Secure and Reliable Vital Records — Garbage In and Out

Is there enough reliability in the vital records from which corroboration of identity will most often be sought? Right now, probably not. Faulty vital records are now the major stumbling block to otherwise well managed ID systems, from state drivers licences to passports. There are signs of progress. SSA now maintains a nearly up-to-date death file to close accounts promptly. Congress in 1996 took steps toward higher standards of federal acceptability for vital records and the ID documents derived from them, such as drivers' licenses.

SSA Suggestions: Do it Gradually, Let the States Do It, or Don't Do It at All

The entire process is so daunting, one can share SSA's discomfort with the idea and not be surprised they offer alternatives to a mass reissuance. One is to develop a secure, enhanced card but issue it prospectively over a longer time to new applicants and to existing card holders seeking replacements or services. The extensive fraud and error in the existing system would be tolerated a while longer.

Another alternative, long an SSA favorite, is to adapt state drivers' licenses and non-driver identification cards also to provide verification of social security numbers. SSA's arguments are persuasive. Drivers' licenses are accepted — and paid for — as a part of life. State drivers licenses have acquired many of the counterfeit-resistant, tamper-proof features envisaged for the SSN. They always carry a photo and much of the personal information desired for the SSN. Licenses are required under the 1996 law to contain the SSN, now a requirement in 29 states, and the inclusion of this data in machine-readable form will allow for automated matching with the SSN data base. A question would be the states' willingness to participate with SSA in verification and in coding licenses for citizenship status and work eligibility.

A card-less ID system is SSA's final alternative. It notes that now the key identifier in the number, not the card. So, matching the number to other authentication means, such as biometrics, PIN numbers, and encryption keys "could virtually eliminate counterfeit SSN issues." The report acknowledges that this is still an emerging science.

Conclusion: Cost and Technical Feasibility Good, Politics Precarious

This report sums up convincingly the dilemmas of achieving a reliable system for verifying individual eligibility to work or receive benefits, and to meet the increasing need for ready verification of citizenship for such needs as voting, jury duty, passports and security clearances. The money costs of reliably carding nearly 300 million persons, as estimated in this study, is reasonable and easily within the nation's means when spread over several years, with or without user fees. A mass reissuance correctly done will help clear up example, the more than ten million SSNs now used by more than one person, while helping the Internal Revenue Service to deal with the more than 21 million W-2 forms it receives each year with incorrect combinations of name and social security number.

But SSA's report confirms once again that the technological options are sound but the politics of identification and the state of the current basics of a system are precarious. A great deal of preparation is needed in securing basic vital "breeder" documents and educating the public to the savings and personal convenience of a system that can provide secure identification even to the poor and the marginalized. TSC

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Selling Passports for Fun and Profit

by David S. North

Once upon a time passports were only issued by a government to its citizens; holding such a document meant that you gave your allegiance to that country, and that it counted you as one of the family.

No more. It is now more complicated; passports of varying validity and utility can be obtained on what has become an open market.

Essentially there are three types of passports-for-sale:

1) those counterfeited by out-and-out criminals;

2) those sold with a wink and a nod (by at least one private firm) as "shadow passports" to be used when your plane is hijacked by folks hostile to, say, Americans; the sellers, of course, would be shocked, shocked! if these documents were used to fool some ill-informed inspector at a Third World airport;

3) those sold openly by small states, mostly in the Pacific, as a revenue-raising device.

Counterfeit passports have been with us for centuries, but they are the least of the challenges for the policy makers, if sometimes a problem for law enforcement types. A group of Immigration and Naturalization immigration inspectors and I did a study twenty years ago (for the INS) about the different fraudulent ways that people seek to enter the U.S. at the ports of entry.

Thousands of randomly selected aliens at a score of ports (both land and air) were inspected with more than the usual diligence, and counterfeit documents were at the bottom of the list. *Male fide* entrants, to use the INS term, were much more likely to make false verbal claims to U.S. citizenship, or to seek to use fraudulently acquired legitimate documents, than to carry counterfeit documents.

Shadow passports are relatively inexpensive, and presumably of pretty limited utility. The idea, according to the people selling them, is that it is a second passport that you carry with you at all times, just in case your plane is hijacked. This second passport indicates that you are a citizen of some other country, so the anti-American bad guys take out their hostility on the other Americans on the plane, but not on you.

The documents (which are sold by direct mail) cost about $400 when I last checked into them two years ago. They are issued by a private firm in Britain, carrying the names of former or never-were nations, such as Burma or the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) in the first category, and Eastern Samoa (now American Samoa) in the second.

It struck me at the time that the terrorist threat was pretty remote and that some people might buy these documents for different, and less benign, purposes than fooling the hijackers. I raised that issue with both a senior American intelligence officer and with the purveyors of the documents.

"It is not illegal to manufacture, buy or sell these 'fantasy passports'" the intelligence officer told me, "but it is illegal to use them at a border crossing or at a bank. Such documents have been around for a while, but the use of Eastern Samoa and the New Hebrides for these purposes is news to me."

He said he knew there was a trade in these documents and that they sometimes showed up at U.S. ports of entry.

As to penalties for their misuse: "Probably the worst that could happen to you is that you would be turned away by the inspector at the airport and forced

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***David S. North**, long the Washington correspondent for Fiji's* Pacific Island Monthly *and a free-lance immigration research consultant, is now an employee of the Office of Insular Affairs of the U.S. Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C.; he did not write this article as an officer of that agency, and the article does not necessarily reflect its views.*

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to fly back where you started."

To my surprise the document sellers responded to my faxed questions. On stationery with a wonderfully Brit address — Forestside House, Rowlands Castle, Hants, PO9 6EE, England, UK — Richard Cawte of Scope International replied to my question: how do they know that crooks and criminals are not using these products? He wrote:

> *To answer your question about possible checks made on clients, we have no way of verifying all potential customers details, and this would probably be contradictory for a privacy-oriented company. We do, however, warn all people that these items are strictly for novelty use only..."*[1]

The sale of passports by small nations *is* a problem for policy makers, both in industrial nations like the U.S., and in the nations that sell these documents. This is a practice that probably happens elsewhere as well, but I am most familiar with the sales of these documents by Pacific island nations, such as Tonga, Samoa (the former Western Samoa), Vanuatu, Kiribati, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and perhaps Tuvalu.

All of these nations have extremely limited resource bases, inherently expensive operations (tiny populations and many islands), over-staffed governments, and thus perpetual financial crises — but they are nation-states, and can engage in what I call the economics of sovereignty. In other words, they — unlike individuals, cities or corporations — can raise money by licensing ships, issuing postage stamps and coins, and selling passports.[2]

In addition to their financial needs, these island states are all new to nationhood and lack the history of citizenship that exists in older nations, so when someone said — "hey, let's sell passports to those Hong Kong Chinese!" — the reaction probably was, "why not?"

Tonga, like all these island nations (save the Marshalls), is a member of what had been the British Commonwealth of Nations, as was Hong Kong. Tonga was the first of the island nations to sell passports, and its pioneering, after an initial stumble or two, led the way for the other islands.

The obvious market, ten years ago, consisted of the wealthy among the Hong Kong Chinese. Most were not likely to obtain UK passports (at least not the kind that permitted settlement in Britain) and many worried that life and moneymaking in Hong Kong after PRC takeover might not be attractive, so they were susceptible to the notion of securing a non-Chinese passport.

Tonga began selling their own passports in Hong Kong, reportedly for as much as $50,000 each. While I do not recall numbers being announced, the Royal Tongan government said that sales were brisk. But the passports had what turned out to be a fatal flaw. The bearer could not use them to enter Tonga, much less to live there. Soon the U.S. and other major nations refused to honor the passports, because what meaning did they have when they could not be used to enter the nation issuing them?

Tonga soon switched gears, announced that those holding the passports could at least visit the kingdom, and sales resumed. My sense, however, is that the change has not led to much immigration to the nation.

With the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) the experience has been different. The Marshalls, once Spanish, then German, then Japanese colonies, had been part of the U.S.-managed United Nations Trust Territory after World War II. In the mid-1980s they became one of the three Freely Associated States — Pacific island nations which worked out special arrangements with the U.S. The basic deal, made at the height of the Cold War, was that the islands, while independent nations, would not let any other power obtain military bases, and the U.S. would send the islands hundreds of millions of dollars over a 15-year period (the expiration of which is fast approaching).

The Marshalls, not content with their 15-year-long flow of dollars from the U.S. Treasury, decided that they, too, would sell passports, but they had the advantage that Tonga lacked — after the passage of time, a holder of an RMI passport could move into the U.S. without a visa.

Why is this the case? Citizens of the Marshalls and the other Freely Associated States (Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia) under the Compact of Free Association have the right to enter the U.S. without regard to provisions of the Immigration and

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Nationality Act. After five years of residence in the Marshalls an RMI passport holder (and thus a naturalized citizen) apparently would be treated like other RMI citizens as they approached one of our ports of entry.

RMI soon found that it had a new, and assertive, population; middle class Chinese who settled in Majuro (the capital) and who started small businesses, and quickly ran the locals out of (for example) the taxicab business. Will they leave for the States when the five years are up? Maybe, but in the meantime the RMI is working with a self-imposed set of social tensions.

"...the financial pressures on the Pacific island states ... are severe, and the attractions of a few million dollars in ... cost-free passport sales have to be tremendous."

A headline in the *Marshall Islands Journal*[3] says it all: "Not anti-Chinese but...
Local Businesses Trampled"
The article reads, in part:

> *While expressing serious worries about the rapid influx of Chinese over the past six months, local business leaders are quick to say they are not criticizing the Chinese on the basis of their race — but rather a concern is that the government has allowed its passport-selling program to get out of control and Marshall Islands will suffer the consequences... Marshallese who will not be able to compete with their Asian business counterparts...*

It must be remembered that the financial pressures on the Pacific island states — again, some of them being self-inflicted through waste and corruption — are severe, and the attractions of a few million dollars in what at first blush appears to be cost-free passport sales have to be tremendous.

The island press is full of examples. Two RMI senators, one using a $3 million figure and the other $10 million, spoke of the importance of this income to meet the (substantial) RMI government payroll and to fund its (money-losing) government airline. "..if accusations are to be made regarding this money, we must all share the blame."[4]

In mid-1997 the RMI, probably worried about displeasing the American government, ceased selling the passports.

Meanwhile, Kiribati (pronounced Kir ee bas), the former British colony of the Gilbert Islands, also got into the act, announcing that it had sold $1.5 million worth of passports in 1996, and $1 million worth in the first four months of 1997 (as the PRC occupation of Hong Kong loomed even closer). The price in this case was announced, and was $15,000 each.[5] I do not know whether this has led to much immigration to Kiribati, but I doubt it.

In addition, two, and perhaps three other island states, have entered the same business.

Western Samoa is an independent nation lying west of the smaller, less populous American Samoa. Once a German colony, then a New Zealand protectorate, in the late 1990s it began selling passports in Hong Kong, with the price ranging up to $26,000 each. Here there were parallels with the Marshalls, for just as RMI citizens can enter the U.S. freely, so Western Samoan citizens have easy access to New Zealand.

Vanuatu, once a joint French-British colony bearing the Scottish name of New Hebrides, started selling passports, too, but I have few details. My sense is that a Vanuatu passport does not have the open-sesame qualities of the RMI and Samoan passports.

Finally, there is Tuvalu, formerly the Ellice Islands, a South Pacific British colony. It is one of the least-populated nations in the world with about 8,000 residents; it is so small that its creative leadership has persuaded several industrial nations to set up an endowment for the nation, as if it were a small college.

Tuvalu may also be in the passport-peddling business. According to an authoritative U.S.-based newsletter, Tuvalu's "Parliament is being asked to approve an overseas passport sales scheme; holders who would be called 'investor immigrants' could reside in the country but not acquire land or citizenship."[6]

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So, lots of small nations are selling passports, with different rules, prices and degrees of usefulness to the purchasers. While some critics see these sales as creating short-term immigration impacts (e.g. the Marshalls) and others visualize longer-term demographic consequences (e.g. the use of the RMI passports to bring otherwise ineligible people to the U.S. legally) those are not the principal problems seen in the island nations.

What gets attention locally are the widespread charges of corruption. Who gets the money from these passport sales? The island nation's public treasury? Or the private pockets of people close to the passport sales process?

Again, the private temptations must be huge, as these islands are notorious for the lax handling of public money. The activity in Samoa along these lines is particularly well-reported.[7] The Samoan outpost in Hong Kong enlisted a couple of local firms to sell the passports for them, bringing yet another potentially troublesome variable into the picture. Ads were run in the *Macau Daily* and in the *Hong Kong East* newspapers, according to the *Samoa Observer*.

"There were allegations that the scam went right to the top of the Samoan government," an AP report stated (quoting the local paper) and for that reason Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese Efi, leader of Samoa's opposition party, not only made public charges to this effect, he turned over evidence to both Samoa's Attorney General and to New Zealand's Solicitor General.

Samoa's Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana, who has also been immigration minister for the last seven years, denied any involvement in the matter.

According to the government, dozens of passports "have gone missing" since 1994; the local paper says that the correct number of missing documents is 1,700. An examination of the country's financial records would not help solve things as there has not been an audited set of books in half a dozen years.

Samoa is not the only nation where these charges have been raised. In Tonga, one of the few functioning, old-fashioned monarchies remaining in the world, the question is: how much of the money went to King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV as opposed to the kingdom's treasury.[8] Similar questions are being asked in the Marshalls, and in Vanuatu.

In the last-named nation the vigorous occupant of the nation's ombudsman's office, Marie-Noelle Patterson, has raised hell about successive administrations pocketing money from the sale of Vanuatu passports to Asians. Ms. Patterson has the quadruple disadvantages of being a woman, born in Europe, having a Western name, and having courageously blown the whistle on every major politician in her country. She may not be in office by the time this article appears in print.

When it comes to numbers, however, all these creative public and private scams in exotic and distant places cannot hold a candle to another technique that inadmissable but wealthy aliens use to secure permanent entry into the U.S. I am referring to the misuse of this nation's immigrant investor program as reported in the *New York Times*,[9] but that is a subject for another article, which might speak to the deferential treatment given by some immigration agencies to the yacht people, as opposed to the boat people. TSC

NOTES

[1] These paragraphs are based on a longer article of mine on these shadow passports in *Pacific Islands Monthly* (Suva), July, 1996.

[2] For more on the sovereignty business see the cover story in the July, 1994, *Pacific Islands Monthly*.

[3] July 4, 1997.

[4] "Passport sales fuel gov't payroll" *Marshall Islands Journal* (Majuro), September 26, 1997.

[5] "Kiribati passport a best seller" *South Sea Digest* (Sydney) August 1, 1997.

[6] *The Washington Pacific Report* (Alexandria, VA) September 1, 1997.

[7] See, for example, the cover stories in the July, 1997 issue of *Pacific Islands Monthly*. (I had left the publications a few months earlier, so this is not my work), and "Passport scam may involve top Samoa officials," an AP story in *Pacific Daily News* (Guam) August 30, 1997.

[8] "Battle among the royals," *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1998. That issue also carried two unrelated stories which dealt, among other things, with private profits in the sale of passports in Vanuatu and in Samoa.

[9] "Abuses Are Cited in Trade of Money for U.S. Residence," front page, *New York Times*, April 13, 1998.

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A Letter to Party Leaders in Puerto Rico

From English Language Advocates' chairman

by Leo Sorensen

[*On December 7, 1998, Chairman Leo Sorensen of English Language Advocates (ELA) addressed a letter to party leaders Hon. Pedro Rosello, Governor of the New Progressive Party; Hon. Anibel Acevedo Vilá, President of the Popular Democratic Party; Hon. Ruben Berrios, Senator of the Puerto Rican Independence Party; and Hon. Luis Vega Ramos, Chairman of the Coordinadora Puertoriqueña.*]

Gentlemen:

I am writing to you on behalf of the Board of Directors and the fifty thousand supporters of English Language Advocates (ELA), a national non-profit organization dedicated to the defense of English as the official language of the United States.

Several representatives of ELA, myself included, have just returned from Puerto Rico where we spent several days observing the plebiscite campaign and meeting with advocates for the various status options offered to the voters on December 13.

We are deeply concerned about the campaign of misinformation that is being conducted by the advocates of Statehood for Puerto Rico, whose advertising boldly and incorrectly assures the voters that the island can become a 51st State without any changes in its language and cultural policies. THAT ASSERTION IS WRONG. It is clearly meant to create the illusion that Puerto Ricans can join the Union of States without having to accept the primacy of English in their public life, nor give up some of their cherished symbols of independence from the American nation.

We feel it is our duty to inform our fellow citizens in Puerto Rico that this promise is false. To cast an informed ballot, voters in Puerto Rico should consider these facts:

- There can be no Spanish-speaking State of Puerto Rico. Statehood implies that English will be the language of state and local governments and of all their branches and subdivisions. English will be the primary language of Puerto Rican schools.
- The State of Puerto Rico will have no separate representation in the Olympics, in international beauty competitions, in the United Nations or any other international body. These functions are the sole prerogative of the United States.
- The people of the United States, through their representatives in the Congress, will withhold membership in the Union of States from any State insisting on language separatism. Mindful of the example of Quebec, mainstream America will defend its traditional language, English, against the dangers inherent in a Spanish-speaking State within the Union.
- There is no trial membership in the United States. The Union is indivisible. Once a State, Puerto Rico can never aspire to any other status.

The movement to defend English against the implantation of rival languages continues to gain momentum and is determined to use its growing strength to bar the entry of Puerto Rico as a quasi-autonomous Spanish-speaking nation within the Union of States.

In view of the long and largely beneficial association between the people of the United States and the people of Puerto Rico, it may be best to avoid the assured embarrassment of Congressional refusal and await a more propitious time — when English fluency has become the rule rather than the exception in Puerto Rico — for formally seeking membership in the Union of States.

(s) LEO SORENSEN, Chairman
English Language Advocates

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Puerto Rico's Future

Statehood advocates will continue to push that option, so vigilance is called for

by Gerda Bikales

On December 13, 1998, voters in Puerto Rico went to the polls to choose the type of relationship they want with the United States, an issue that has monopolized island politics for more than eighty years. For the second time in five years Puerto Ricans were asked to choose between applying to become our country's 51st state, maintaining their current commonwealth status (in effect since 1952), or seeking total independence from the United States.

When the votes were all counted, retaining the status quo of commonwealth was once again the winner. Yet, in early December, just days before the plebiscite, polls had indicated a decided voter preference for statehood. What had happened to prove the prognosticators wrong?

It is easy enough to explain the strong pro-statehood sentiments that seemed to prevail as the plebiscite approached. The statehood party is in control of the governor's mansion and the legislature, and it had used its political muscle to define "commonwealth" in the ballot description as an abject form of colonial subjugation, thereby causing the commonwealth party to bolt from that choice in favor of a hastily created alternative, "none of the above." Statehood advocates played on the fears of Puerto Ricans that their valuable American citizenship, granted by Congress in 1917, may be revoked any time unless they act quickly to become a state.

Having allocated itself a very generous budget for lobbying in Washington and for saturation media advertising in Puerto Rico, the statehood party bombarded television viewers with images of an endless stream of dollars flowing from the United States to the island, as soon as it joined the Union. Other advertising repeated assurances that no cultural and linguistic adjustments would be expected of Puerto Ricans — the 51st state would retain its Latin American character and its traditional Spanish language undiminished. Why, then, would anyone not vote for the ultimate free lunch?

Under the leadership of chairman Leo Sorensen, English Language Advocates, a national public interest organization, stepped into this dense fog of preposterous false promises and carefully crafted public misconceptions. In the week before the plebiscite Sorensen, accompanied by staffer Phillips Hinch and myself, traveled to Puerto Rico to bring a very different message to the public. The full acceptance of English, they insisted, is a non-negotiable prerequisite for joining the Union of States. Because the United States categorically refuses to become a bilingual nation, a candidate for statehood insisting on conducting its affairs in a language other than English will be vigorously opposed by mainstream America and inevitably rejected by its elected representatives in the Congress.

In a series of meetings with highly placed leaders of all factions and with representatives of the press, the ELA team repeated this message forcefully. Its ads, placed in the leading English- and Spanish-language newspapers, were picked up by the media and became the subject of extensive news coverage and commentary in the critical weekend before the vote.

The plebiscite had defied predictions. Despite political manipulations that had divided the commonwealth vote into "commonwealth," "free association" (a form of enhanced commonwealth status), and "none of the above," the "statehood" option mustered only 46.5 percent. It won neither a

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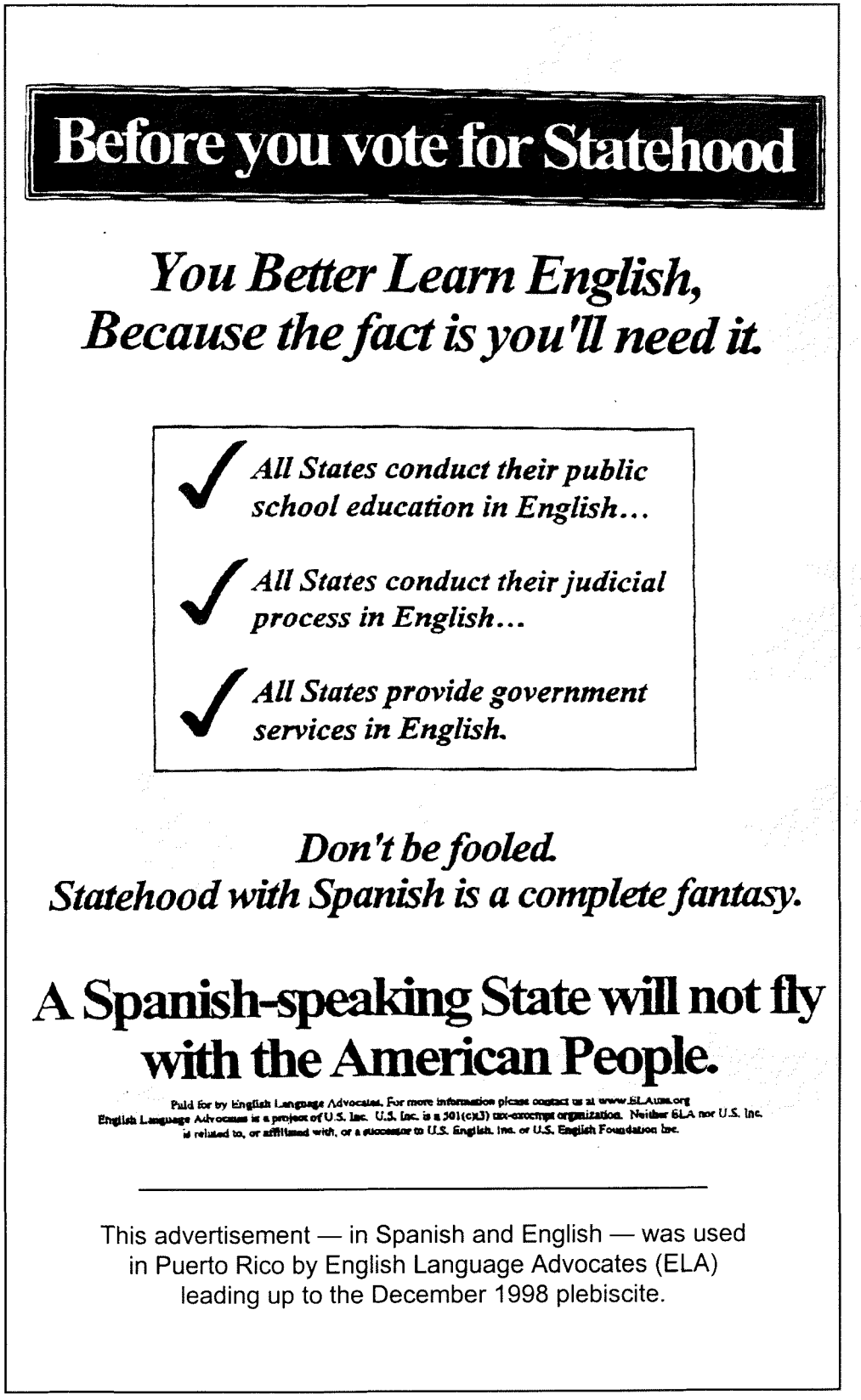
majority nor a plurality. That honor went to "none of the above" — the clear winner with 50.2 percent of the vote.

A forceful voice asserting unequivocally that the United States is and will remain an English-speaking nation had resonated with many voters and had made a difference.

In the aftermath of this defeat one might think that the push for Puerto Rico's entry into the Union of States has been stilled for a decade or more, until the island's people have time to weigh evolving conditions and reevaluate their position. But that is not likely to happen. Never mind the vote count — the statehood spinmeisters are busy declaring victory. They are determined to get legislation on changing the status of the territory introduced in the new Congress, again and again, to hold plebiscite after plebiscite, to press on for their cause until everyone tires of the game and becomes more pliant.

It is the job of English Language Advocates to keep the American people wide awake and alert to the dangers of an American "Quebec" represented by a Spanish-speaking state. Falling asleep on the job is not an option. TSC


Before you vote for Statehood
You Better Learn English,
Because the fact is you'll need it.
All States conduct their public school education in English...
All States conduct their judicial process in English...
All States provide government services in English.
Don't be fooled.
Statehood with Spanish is a complete fantasy.
A Spanish-speaking State will not fly with the American People.
Paid for by English Language Advocates. For more information please contact us at www.ELAus.org
English Language Advocates is a project of U.S. Inc. U.S. Inc. is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization. Neither ELA nor U.S. Inc. is related to, or affiliated with, or a successor to U.S. English, Inc. or U.S. English Foundation Inc.

This advertisement — in Spanish and English — was used in Puerto Rico by English Language Advocates (ELA) leading up to the December 1998 plebiscite.

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ELA Busy in Puerto Rico

by Rosario Fajardo

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

If Puerto Rico wants to become the 51st state of the union, it must "embrace" English as the language of the local and federal governments, business and the education system, stateside members of English Language Advocates said.

"We want the people of Puerto Rico to express their feelings in the plebiscite, but as interested observers we see a campaign of deceit by the statehood movement regarding language," said Leo Sorensen, chairman of the organization. "If Puerto Ricans want to become a state, they must learn English."

The issue of whether Puerto Rico will have to step up the teaching of English if it were to become a state is one of the many under discussion in the campaign for the December 13 plebiscite.

Puerto Ricans should not lose their Spanish, but the reality of life is that English is the most dominant language in the world, Sorensen said. No matter what Puerto Rico decides, it will have to become bilingual, "with English rapidly gaining prominence in their culture," he said.

Otherwise, he said Puerto Rico would be left behind in the race for economic development and progress.

At the same time, a predominantly Spanish-language state will be divisive to the nation and may lead to further linguistic and racial lines, he said, adding that a scenario similar to the separatist movement in Quebec, Canada could occur.

English Language Advocates is a non-profit organization, based in Arlington, Virginia, which is dedicated to defending the English language. The organization has an estimated 50,000 "supporters."

The organization is not affiliated with either the English Only or the English First movements in the United States, but officials said it has helped pass the controversial laws making English the official language in 25 states, which advocates of multiculturalism view as ethnocentric and exclusionary.

The organization also has no formal position on Puerto Rico's status question, Sorensen said, other than the English-language requirement for statehood.

Sorensen said he and two other members of his organization are currently in Puerto Rico "to learn what is going on" and have scheduled meetings with members of the New Progressive, Popular Democratic and Puerto Rican Independence parties.

Despite repeated phone calls, NPP Rep. Leonides Díaz Urbina, who heads the statehood plebiscite campaign, could not be reached for comment last week. TSC

Associate Phillips Hinch and Chairman Leo Sorensen of English Language Advocates

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Rosario Fajardo is a staff writer with The San Juan (PR) Star. *This article is reprinted with permission from the edition of December 7, 1998. The photo is by Carlos Anguita.*

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Puerto Rico Not Suited For Statehood

by Don Feder

[*Editor's note: We reprint Don Feder's column dated November 30, 1998 which relates to a referendum that has already taken place, however the issues remain.. Likewise, Rep. Livingston has since declined to be Speaker of the House.*]

On December 13 Puerto Ricans will cast their ballots for statehood, independence, or commonwealth status. The referendum implicitly acknowledges their right to self-determination.

But don't Americans have the same right — the right not to be saddled with an impoverished, crime-ridden island of non-English speakers as our 51st state?

An ad statehood proponents are running on television in San Juan assures voters that, with admission to the Union, "we will not become blue-eyed blondes. …Nor will we change our language and culture. With statehood we will remain as we are."

True enough. With statehood, Puerto Rico will still have an annual per capita income of $8,509 — one-third the U.S. average and less than half that of Mississippi, our poorest state. The murder rate will remain at 25 per 100,000, more than twice that of New York City.

However, there will be some changes. Puerto Rico will send two senators and five or six representatives to Congress, to vote in lockstep with Ted Kennedy and Richard Gephardt on everything from affirmative action to taxes.

Current caps will come off federal welfare spending for the island. The average Puerto Rican family won't pay a penny in federal income taxes but could receive and Earned Income Tax Credit of $2,713 annually. Statehood will cost us an additional $3 billion a year in welfare payments alone.

Carlos Romero-Barcelo, Puerto Rico's non-voting (God be praised) delegate in the House of Representatives, candidly titled his pro-statehood book, *Statehood Is for the Poor.*

With Puerto Rico incorporated, America would be well on its way to becoming a bilingual nation. Ask the Canadians how splendidly that works.

According to a *New York Times* story of May 19, 1997, "Fully 90 percent of the island's 650,000 public school students lack basic English skills by the time they graduate."

When the commonwealth's government proposed increasing the amount of English instruction, Puerto Rican teachers rioted. Romero-Barcelo doesn't pull his punches, "Yes, we want statehood (*for purely pecuniary reasons*), but neither our language nor our culture are negotiable."

Apparently, America's language and culture *are* negotiable. With Puerto Rican statehood, to the problem of unassimilable immigrants we would add an unassimilable state.

Earlier this year, by a single vote, the House passed a bill fast-tracking Puerto Rican statehood. The legislation provided that if a plurality of the island's voters ever opt for statehood, Congress must vote on its admission to the Union every two years, for a decade, until it passes.

Passage came after a perfunctory debate. In the Senate, the bill died in committee.

Hot for Hispanic support, the GOP leadership, including its neutered speaker, pushed the plan — as if Mexicans in California and Cubans in Florida really give a hill of frijoles for Puerto Rican statehood.

Despite their leadership's position, better than three-quarters of House Republicans opposed

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the measure. Unlike his predecessor, incoming Speaker Bob Livingston is an energetic opponent of statehood.

Whatever the outcome of the referendum, Americans have a right to insist that their representatives act exclusively in the interests of the United States.

We need more non-English speakers in this country like we need more welfare recipients, higher crime rates and an alien culture — all of which we'll get with Puerto Rican statehood.

The issue is a no-brainer that only a multiculturalist, a welfare-state Democrat or a pandering Republican could possibly support Puerto Rican statehood. That's why the island's government had to spend $200 million this year lobbying for same.

English First, a 150,000-member organization that promotes official English, is leading the opposition to this multicultural madness. Executive Director Jim Boulet, Jr. sardonically notes, "Puerto Rico is as proud of its language and culture as the United States used to be of ours."

In June, Puerto Ricans in New York City staged impassioned protests when a character on the sitcom *Seinfeld* accidentally burned a Puerto Rican flag. They had every right to be outraged.

But, let me ask you a question: If someone signed your state's flag, would you be bent out of shape? However they vote in the referendum, Puerto Ricans have a national consciousness that is incompatible with statehood.

It's hard to imagine a worse candidate for admission to the Union.

TSC

Puerto Rico Vote Sends an Important Message

Americans should learn as much about identity

by Samuel Francis

A tip of the hat to the good folk of Puerto Rico, who in contrast to the idiots who run the Republican Party, have the sense to understand that their island, its culture, its language and its people should not be a state of the United States. Americans ought to pay attention to what their vote against statehood last week tells us, because it carries a message many Americans (not least Republicans) need to hear.

Last year, the leaders of the GOP conceived the idea that a good way to reach Hispanic voters, who are increasingly tending to vote Democratic, would be to pass a bill that allowed Puerto Ricans to vote on whether to seek national independence, remain a commonwealth or become a state. The bill passed the House by only one vote and was quickly smothered in the Senate.

It apparently did not occur to most Republican leaders that the very category "Hispanic" is a statistical abstraction, not to say a fiction, that disguises many different cultural, ethnic, linguistic and racial realities.

As I remarked in a column at the time, the mere fact that Puerto Ricans speak Spanish no more means that other "Hispanics: (Mexicans, Cubans, Central Americans, etc.) want it to become a state than most Anglo-Americans want New Zealand to become one. By trying to "reach out" to "Hispanics" as one big lump, the Stupid Party merely

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betrays that it still harbors ethnic stereotypes in its own mind.

The Republican bill died (or at least became comatose) in the Senate, but in Puerto Rico itself there has just been a referendum on options similar to those of the bill, and the Puerto Ricans killed the idea of Puerto Rican statehood as dead as it can be killed. With a choice of voting on one of five options (statehood, independence, remaining a commonwealth, something called "free association or — everyone's favorite — none of the above), the Puerto Ricans chose the last by 50.2 percent. Only 46.5 percent voted for statehood, almost exactly the same as the statehood vote in a 1993 referendum.

Of course, the vote won't really kill the statehood movement, and Puerto Rico's governor is insisting on pushing even harder for statehood. But whatever the future of the controversy, the Puerto Rican vote does send Americans an important message.

"I voted to stay the way we are, to keep our language, our culture, the Latinismo and the ability to participate in all the pageants and sporting events," one non-of-the-abover, a 64-year-old gentleman named Josi Milan, told the *New York Times* last week. Milan, at least, understands what is at stake in the debate over statehood for the island.

What is at stake is whether Puerto Rico will become something it really is not — a part of the American union and the common culture that makes union possible — by further encouraging the United States to become something it was never intended to be — a multicultural and multiracial "universal nation." Milan and at least half of his fellow Puerto Ricans think their culture should remain what it is. They are entirely right to think so, and they are almost certainly right that statehood would endanger that identity.

"What is at stake is whether Puerto Rico will become something it really is not — a part of the American union and the common culture that makes union possible — by further encouraging the United States to become what it was never intended to be — a multicultural and multiracial 'universal nation.'"

Why, then, cannot most Americans, or at least most American leaders in both political parties and the cultural elite, understand that statehood for Puerto Rico would weaken the national and cultural identity of the United States no less than it would weaken that of the island itself?

Thus, the neo-conservative *Washington Times*, in an editorial praising the outcome of the recent Puerto Rican referendum, wrote that "Puerto Rico" has a distinct and flourishing culture of its own. The people of the island recognize that statehood would bring demands of assimilation that would threaten their particular way of life." If that is sauce for the Puerto Rican goose, it also ought to be sauce for the United States gander, but the *Times*, like most neo-conservative organs, zealously opposes further restrictions on immigration into the United States.

If it is legitimate for the Puerto Rican people to reject official membership in the United States because they see such membership as a threat to their identity, their "particular way of life," then it is also legitimate for Americans through their federal laws to reject official membership in the United States for culturally alien immigrants. But hardly anyone in positions of national leadership, left or right, sees that or says that.

If the American cultural and political elite listens real hard, it will hear a nation asserting its own right to exist and survive. Unfortunately, that sound comes not from the American people and certainly not from their elites, but from the Puerto Ricans who last week rightly chose to stay the way they are.

TSC

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'Official English' Setback

Supreme Court denies review of Arizona case

Report by Robert Park

The final chapter in the long-running saga of Arizona's struggle to keep official English alive came to an abrupt end this January when the U.S. Supreme Court denied a *writ certiorari*.

In June 1998, the Arizona Supreme Court ruled the constitutional amendment was in violation of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Arizona's governor and attorney general refused to appeal.

'Let the will of the people stand'

While he openly disapproved of the measure making English the official language of Arizona, the hypocrisy of the attorney general's refusal lies in the fact that he cosponsored a referendum this past November that would prohibit the legislature (except in very narrow circumstances) from tampering with citizen initiatives, or the governor from invoking a veto. "Let the will of the people stand," he exhorted. But then he announced it was best to let this language initiative die.

While as leader of the initiative I found this a hard pill to swallow, I am not alone. John Tanton, Leo Sorensen, Gerda Bikales and a few others were in on the ground floor when this entire movement to make English the official language in the various states began. I am not suggesting that this signals the end of the road, but I am suggesting that it is a serious wake-up call for all Americans who are concerned about the trend to destroy our national cohesion.

Without going into too much detail, we note that this adverse decision by the Supreme Court has already been invoked to challenge both the current effort in Arizona to abolish bilingual education, and the move in Alabama to enforce the English-only drivers' license examination.

In 1990, ninety percent of Alabama's voters adopted English as their state's official language, and required that drivers' license exams be given in English. A Mexican immigrant is demanding the exam be given in Spanish and a federal judge has ruled she has the right to sue under Title VI of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. Bill Lann Lee, Acting Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, has intervened on her behalf.

According to Lee, any state availing itself of federal funds (and they all do) cannot, under Title VI rules, deny services in languages other than English.

On the language battlefield over the past eleven years the names of *Yniguez* and *Ruiz* of Arizona stood out. Joining the "monkey wrench" gang now, from Alabama, is *Martha Sandoval*. English Language Advocates (ELA) has chosen to enter this latest fray.

Our Legal Sidekicks

I want to take this opportunity to heap credit and grateful appreciation on two longtime friends and barristers-of-distinction who have guided us through legal tangles for the past decade.

The first is Jim Henderson of Phoenix who stepped forward in the 1988 initiative campaign, and defended the resulting constitutional amendment in federal and state courts, on up to the state Supreme Court.

The second is Barnaby Zall who crafted Arizona's official English measure in 1987, and who has become one of the nation's leading authorities on First Amendment language issues. It was Barnaby whose legal prowess twice laid our case before the U.S. Supreme Court — first coming away victorious, and now suffering disappointment, along with the rest of us, when the high court declined "without comment" to hear our appeal.

There is no doubt in my mind that the failure of Arizona's highest officials to defend the citizen-sponsored amendment led to the high court's decision. It may be that the only salvation now lies with the Congress and the fifty states through a federal constitutional amendment. Whatever it takes. TSC

***Robert Park** is president of English Language Advocates (ELA). He lives in Prescott, Arizona.*

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America's Immigrant-Driven Poverty Increase

by Linda Thom

On September 24, 1998, the United States Census Bureau issued two press releases to accompany their annual report on poverty, *Poverty in the United States: 1997* (Dalaker and Naifeh). The release headlines read:

Poverty Rate Down, Household Income up — Both Return to 1989 Pre-Recession Levels
and
Poverty Level of Hispanic Population Drops, Income Improves

What impression do these headlines give? Most would probably read them and believe that after years of grim economic times, Americans are again thriving and that Hispanics, especially, are making good economic progress. Unfortunately, the headlines are partially true at best and disingenuous at worst.

What the Bureau **did not say** is that the number of poor people increased by 4 million between 1989 and 1997 even if, according to Dr. Daniel Weinberg who lead the press briefing, "the poverty rate is statistically no different from the pre-recession rate in 1989." (Actually, the poverty rate is not down as the headline says but rather up from 12.8 percent in 1989 to 13.3 percent in 1997 but this information is buried in the full one-hundred-page poverty report in one of the probably 50 pages of tables). Further, the Bureau **did say** that the drop in Hispanic poverty rates "accounted for a significant share of the decrease in the overall poverty rate between 1996 and 1997." That is what happened in one year. What the Bureau **did not say** is that the Hispanic poor accounted for almost three quarters of the 4 million increase in America's poor since 1989.

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If the data for the period are disaggregated by race and ethnicity, Hispanics and Asians accounted for 84 percent of the added poor people since 1989. Blacks in poverty declined by 186,000 and "others" in poverty increased by 825,00. Others are mostly non-Hispanic whites and Native Americans. While it is true that table upon table of data are available in the Census Bureau's document, *Poverty in the United States: 1997*, who knows anyone in the media who sits down and analyses the data to see what press releases have left unsaid. The media take the press summaries prepared for them, listen to the briefing, and that is what goes to press. Unfortunately, the Census Bureau did not disaggregate the data and, by leaving so much unsaid, left the impression that all is well in America.

The Bureau's failure to publicly announce that there has been a huge increase in poor people since 1989 and that Hispanics and Asians caused most of that increase continues to keep the truth from the American people and from American policy makers. The truth is that both the numbers living in poverty and the poverty rate would be declining in America were it not for immigration — and that, despite a booming economy, many immigrants are dying on the vine.

The Real Story

The press releases cited above accompanied the release of the Bureau's annual report on poverty, *Poverty in the United States: 1997*. Buried in the body of the report itself, the Bureau does indicate that in 1997, the poverty rate for both native-born Americans and foreign born residents declined and now stands at 12.5 percent for the native-born as compared to 19.9 percent for foreign-born residents. The Bureau's report also notes, "...the foreign-born population was disproportionately poor when compared with natives of the United States." Nowhere, however, does the report indicate that it is manifestly clear that in the last decade, virtually all the added poor people are

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Hispanics and Asians and that may have something to do with immigration.

In addition to poverty rates by nativity, the Bureau provides poverty rates by race and ethnicity. The Bureau's press conferences and press releases state the current poverty rates and changes from the prior year. The one year poverty rates are in the right direction — down. This peek at the numbers reveals little and focusing only on the changes in the poverty rate is down right misleading if the numbers of poor people are increasing.

Change in Numbers of Poor People by Race and Ethnicity, 1989 to 1997
(Numbers are in thousands)

YEAR	All Poor	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Others
1997	35,574	1,468	9,116	8,308	16,682
1989	31,528	939	9,302	5,430	15,857
Change 1989-97	4,046	529	-186	2,878	825
Percent of total change	100%	13%	decline	71%	20%
1997 Poverty Rate	13.3%	14.0%	26.5%	27.1%	8.6%
1989 Poverty Rate	12.8%	14.1%	30.7%	26.2%	8%

Table One

The federal government defines poverty thresholds by income and number of family members. In 1997, the poverty threshold for a family of four was an income of $16,400 a year. In 1989, the income threshold for a family of four was $12,674. In 1997, 35.6 people were poor, up by over 4 million from 31.5 million in 1989. Despite this increase of 4 million poor people, the 1997 poverty rate was up only slightly from 1989. The poverty rate is calculated by dividing the number of poor people by the entire population. Thus, 35,574,000 poor divided by 268,480,000 people results in an overall poverty rate of 13.3 percent in 1997.

In 1989, 12.8 percent of America's 246 million residents were poor and in 1997, 13.3 percent of the 268 million people were poor. The Census Bureau correctly states that an increase in the poverty rate of half a percent is not statistically significant. What is statistically significant, however, is that poor people increased by 4 million. The nation has a growing poverty problem, not one which is statistically unchanged. The population increased by 22 million and of those added people, 4 million were poor. So what if the poverty rate in 1997 is not statistically different from the pre-recession 1989 rate? This is a losing proposition.

Table One shows the changes in poor people by race and ethnicity from 1989 to 1997 (Calculations by author from Dalaker and Naifeh). The category, "others" is almost entirely non-Hispanic whites but also includes Native Americans and others.

The number of poor people increased by 4 million but observe that, together, the number of Hispanic and Asian poor people rose by 3.4 million. Even though poor Hispanic people increased by 2.9 million, their poverty rate only rose by nine-tenths of a percent. The Asian poverty rate declined by one-tenth of a percent but there are 529,000 more Asian poor people. Focusing on poverty rate and not numbers in poverty is completely misleading.

Actually the picture is worse than the numbers suggest. Some might believe that an increasing population will always increase the number of poor people, but that is incorrect. Table Two shows the change in population by race and ethnicity from pre-recession 1989 to 1997 (Calculations by author from Dalaker and Naifeh). Tables One and Two show that the Black population increased by 4.1 million but the Black poor decreased by 186,000 between 1989 and 1997. Some might counter that the population of Hispanics and Asians is growing rapidly and, therefore, the number of poor increased rapidly. That is true — Hispanics and Asians accounted for 61 percent of the population growth between 1989 and 1987 but they accounted for 84 percent of the poverty increase. Others accounted for 21 percent of the population growth but only 8 percent of the growth in

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poor people. Poverty among Hispanics and Asians is growing faster than their share of population growth. Blacks are making tremendous strides, especially in the last few years and others' numbers are growing but those in poverty are growing much more slowly.

Change in Population by Race and Ethnicity, 1989 to 1997
(Numbers are in thousands)

Year	All	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Others
1997	268,480	10,482	34,458	30,637	192,903
1989	245,992	6,673	30,332	20,746	188,241
Change 1989-97	22,488	3,809	4,126	9,891	4,662
% of total change	100%	17%	18%	44%	21%

Table Two

Between 1989 and 1997, Asians accounted for 17 percent of the total U.S. population increase but accounted for 13 percent of all the added poor people. The absolute number of added poor Asians increased by 56 percent and their total population grew by 57 percent. This does not seem so bad unless it is compared to the tremendous progress of Blacks. If Blacks can make such great strides in the current economy, then why is that many Asians cannot?

Black people have a very high poverty rate — 26.5 percent in 1997 compared to the Asian poverty rate of 14 percent. But the Black poverty rate declined from 30.7 percent in 1989 to 26.5 percent currently and for the last several years has been lower than the Hispanic poverty rate which was 27.1 percent in 1997. This turn around for Black Americans contrasts to the sobering escalation of poor Hispanics and Asians.

The plight of Hispanics and Asians is abysmal but for children it is worse. In 1997, the poverty rate for Asian and Hispanic children was increasing, not decreasing while the rates for whites and blacks are declining. Overall, the number of poor children in America increased by 1.5 million and Asian and Hispanic children accounted for all of the increase and then some because their poor increased by 1.6 million.

1997 Child Poverty Rates by Race and Ethnicity

All Children	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Others
19.9%	20.3%	37.2%	36.8%	11.5%

Table Three

Not only did the number of poor Black children decline by 150,000, their poverty rate declined from 43.7 percent to 37.2 percent. These numbers are still distressingly high, but they are headed in the right direction because the number of Black children increased by 1.7 million even as their numbers in poverty declined. Table Three displays 1997 child poverty rates by race and ethnicity (Dalaker and Naifeh).

The Immigration Connection

Are the increases in Asian and Hispanic poverty connected to immigration? Of course, they are. Currently, three quarters of new arrivals on America's shores are Hispanic or Asian. In 1990, two of every three Asians living in the United States were foreign-born and among Hispanics two of every three were foreign-born or the children of immigrants (del Pinal and Singer, Lee).

But the increase results not just from immigrants moving to America but also to the increase in United States-citizen children born to immigrants. Between 1989 and 1996, data from the United States Department of Health and Human Services show that births to native-born women are decreasing just as births to immigrants are increasing. Moreover, not only the number but the percent of all births is shifting. In 1989, 85.2 percent of America's 3.9 million births were to native-born mothers. By 1996, the percentage had dropped to 80.8 percent of the 3.9 million births (Mathews, et al., Ventura). Between 1989 and 1996, Hispanic women,

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native and immigrant, gave birth to 5.1 million babies and Asians gave birth to 1 million children. In 1996, 62 percent of Hispanic new mothers were immigrants and 85 percent of Asian new mothers were immigrants.

Of the 701,339 Hispanic births in 1996, 70 percent were to Mexican-origin women who were both native and foreign-born. Unfortunately, this large subgroup of Hispanics has a very high fertility rate and it is rising. In 1989, Mexican-origin women had a fertility rate of 94.5 births per 1,000 population of women in childbearing years and by 1996, the rate jumped to 120.7 per 1,000. This compares to the fertility of non-Hispanic Black women which dropped from 84.8 per 1,000 in 1989 to 72.5 per 1,000 in 1996 and non-Hispanic White women whose rate dropped from 60.5 to 57.3. The range of rates was not available for Asian women but the rate in 1996 was 65.9 per 1000 women of child bearing age (Ventura). Note the 1996 Mexican-origin fertility rate of 120.7 in comparison to the Black rate of 72.5, the white rate of 57.3 and the Asian rate of 65.9. Clearly, both immigration and the high Mexican-origin fertility rate is driving the explosion in the Hispanic child population and the Hispanic child poverty growth.

"The conclusion is obvious: immigration is driving most of the increase in population and poverty."

Conclusion

Because so many immigrants are Hispanic and Asian and because so many Hispanic and Asian new mothers are foreign-born, the conclusion is obvious: immigration is driving most of the increase in population and in poverty. But the numbers in poverty are increasing faster than the rise in population. Even so, why does America need any more poor people? And why is the Census Bureau failing to give the bad news? More important, why is the Bureau slanting its releases to the press by saying that all is well? The recession is over and everybody is doing fine; that is the impression the press is given and then the press releases this distortion to the American people. The press cannot be blamed for this. News writers do words, not numbers. The Census Bureau does numbers and as the government agency in charge of the numbers, the Bureau is accountable for providing complete and accurate information.

The truths are:

- America is importing millions and millions of uneducated, poor people with high fertility rates.
- The Census Bureau is not disclosing the facts.
- The American people and American policy makers will never know the facts unless the Census Bureau starts disclosing the real story and not misleading America about immigration's impact on poverty.

The really disturbing part of this is that even if the United States significantly curtails immigration and changes to a skills-based legal immigration policy, the huge base of poorly educated immigrants with high fertility rates will continue to plague America for years to come. Those who are less pessimistic should consider that more than one hundred thirty years have passed since America freed Black slaves. Today, Blacks still struggle to achieve the American dream and the country still continues to wrestle with the consequences of this prior wave of cheap, foreign labor. TSC

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Migration from Miami

Native-born citizens move away from immigrants

by William Booth

Everything here is nice and neat, just the way Joanne Smith likes it. The developers call their new city on the edge of the Everglades "Our Home Town," and Smith agrees. "It's more like America," she says.

Like thousands of others, Smith moved to this planned community 40 miles north of Miami just a few years ago, searching for a safe and secure neighborhood like this one, where both modest homes and rambling mansions sit against the manicured landscape of palm and hibiscus, and gated streets called Wagon Way and Windmill Ranch gently curve around the shallow lagoons and golf links.

Weston is a boomtown filling with refugees. But the migrants pouring into this part of Broward County are rarely those from the Caribbean, Central and South America — the immigrants to the South who have transformed Miami and surrounding Dade County into a metropolis proudly called by its business and political leaders "The Gateway to Latin America."

Instead, the refugees here are mostly native-born and white, young and old, and they have been streaming up from Miami for years now, creating a new version of the traditional "white flight" in reaction not to black inner cities, but to immigration.

The out-migration of whites is occurring in many high-immigration cities. Miami is one prominent example.

While Miami is unique in many respects, because of both geography and politics, the out-migration of whites is occurring in other high-immigration cities. New York and Los Angeles, for example, each lost a million U.S.-born residents in the last decade, as they gained a million immigrants.

According to an analysis of the most recent census data, for a almost every immigrant who came to Miami-Dade County in recent years, a white non-Hispanic left.

"I loved Miami, but it's a mad scene down there now," said Smith, who is semi-retired and asked that her occupation not be given. Before her move to Weston, Smith lived in Miami for two decades, "In a nice neighborhood gone bad. People say things, 'Oh, that';s change and that's progress,' but I like it clean and green — and everybody speaking English," Smith says.

In discussions about the historic demographic transformations occurring in the United States, which is absorbing almost 1 million immigrants a year, most of the attention focuses quite naturally on the newcomers: Who are they and where are they from and how do they make their way in America?

But immigration is a two-way street — and the welcome the immigrants receive from the native-born is crucial for the continued idea of America as a fabled "melting pot." Of course, there are many whites — and blacks, too — who have remained in Miami-Dade County, to either continue their lives as before or accept, even embrace the Latin tempo of Miami, who have learned how to pronounce *masas de puerco* at lunchtime and to fake a respectable *merengue* dance step, who enjoy the culture, the business opportunities and caffeinated hustle of a metropolis dominated by immigrants. No one

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***William Booth** is a Washington Post staff writer. This article, the fifth in a series of occasional articles, appeared November 9, 1998.* *Copyright (c) 1998, it is reprinted by permission of the Washington Post Writers Group.*

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could call Miami dull.

But it is almost as if there are two kinds of native whites — those who can deal with the multiculturalism that has transformed Miami over the past several decades and those who choose not to. Either way, if the country is to successfully transform itself into a completely multicultural industrialized nation, what these internal migrants say — and there are millions of them around the country — needs to be heard and understood.

"Sooner or later many of the refugees moving north mention immigration and the sense that they are no longer ... 'comfortable.'"

Those transplants interviewed by *The Washington Post*, including those who asked that their names not be used, take pains to explain that, for the most part, the people like them who are moving out of Miami-Dade to Broward are not anti-immigrant xenophobes.

In several dozen interviews with a cross-section of these "domestic migrants" a picture emerges of a segment of the non-Hispanic white population in Miami-Dade County that feels marginalized, exasperated and sometimes bitter, and who move from Dade to Broward with a mix of emotions.

Migrants to Broward give many reasons for the move north: their money buys a bigger, newer house in Broward; they are tired of the traffic and congestion; they worry about crime; they complain about the overcrowded schools; those with young families often say they are looking for a place where their children can play ball in the front yard and ride their bikes down the block.

But all these things, the good and the bad, can also be found in booming Broward County. Sooner or later many of the refugees moving north mention immigration and the sense that they are no longer, as many transplants describe it, "comfortable."

Phil Phillips was born and raised near what is today downtown Miami, where his father worked for the Immigration and Naturalization Service during the postwar years, at a time when the immigrants to Florida were mostly from Europe. Phillips served in the Navy, taught vocational classes at Miami High School, and made a living running a small air conditioning and refrigeration business.

Until the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba, Phillips described the Miami of yesteryear as a more sleepy, more Southern town. It had its glitz in the fanciful playground of Jackie Gleason's city of Miami Beach, but the county was still filled with open land and farms.

"Miami was a very happy place," Phillips remembers with nostalgia. "We had our demarcations, don't get me wrong. But we didn't have the animosity." When pressed, Phillips does remember that the beaches, restaurants and night clubs were often segregated, not only for African-Americans. Jews had their own country clubs.

The Miami of black-and-white all began to change with the arrival of the Cubans in the early 1960s. "The vast majority of the Cubans came here and worked two and three jobs," said Phillips, who is retired and living in Weston. A man who worked with his hands all his life, Phillips respects that. "I saw them do it. And in time, they took over, and some people resent that. But that's the way it is."

"There's this myth out there that a Cuban will screw an American in a deal," Phillips says. "I don't think that is so, but that's the feeling the whites have, and it's because the two sides don't communicate, sometimes they can't communicate, and so they don't understand the other guy."

Phillips has seen decades of change, as the demographics of his home town kept skewing toward Hispanics, in fits and starts. After the first big influx of Cubans in the 1960s, there was Cuba's Mariel boatlift in 1980. Then all through the proxy wars and upheavals in Central America and the Caribbean through the 1980s and 1990s, refugees from

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Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Haiti kept coming to Miami.

"We're great in America at blaming somebody else for our problems," Phillips said. "But I will tell you that for a lot of people who leave Miami (they might not tell you), but they're leaving because of the ethnics."

Phillips offered his opinions as he sat sipping soup at the counter of a new restaurant here in Weston opened by Tim Robbie, whose family owned the Miami Dolphins for years, before they sold out to Wayne Huizenga, who is "The Man" in Broward County, as much as Jorge Mas Canosa, the power behind the Cuban American National Foundation, was "The Man" in Miami before his death [in 1997].

Robbie was raised in Miami. His family, led by his father Joe, was a civic institution. But Robbie himself moved to Weston, too.

"I know a lot of our friends down in Miami were disappointed with us," Robbie said. "They asked: how can you do this to us?"

Robbie agreed that something akin to "the tipping point" phenomenon might be at work, whereby one of two families in a social or business network can leave a community and nothing much changes. But at some point, if enough people leave, the balance suddenly tips, and large groups start selling their homes, and over a period of several years, they create mass demographic shifts.

Robbie himself said he was uncomfortable down south in Miami, but concedes that many are not. "Anglos are accustomed to being in the majority, and down in Dade, they're not. And that puts some people outside their comfort zone. People tend to like to stick together."

Robbie's business partner is Bob Green, who also moved from Miami to Broward. A longtime denizen of funk and fun Coconut Grove, Green describes himself as one of those who never would have thought of moving north to Broward.

But then he saw the new business opportunities, and also found himself liking a place like Weston. "It has this midwestern feeling," Green said. "More downhome and friendly."

This mass internal migration is the latest version of a classic "push-pull" model of residential segregation, whereby many whites in Miami fell lured north by the offerings of a development like Weston, but also feel pushed out of Miami — not only by their fatigue with crime or congestion, but the cultural and demographic upheavals caused by three decades of immigration.

Peter Schott is a tourism official who is changing jobs and, reluctantly, moving with his wife, who works with a cruise ship line, to Broward. The couple, both in their thirties and expecting their first child, are looking for a bigger home. Schott says he will miss the exotic, foreign feel of Miami. Miami, Schott says, is a *media noche*, the name for a Cuban sandwich, while Broward he fears is "white bread and baloney." While he will miss Miami, Schott knows that many of those moving north to Broward may not.

"Some people are real frank," he said. "They say they want to be with more people more like us. If they're white Americans, they want white Americans around them."

For non-Hispanic, non-Spanish-speaking whites to survive in Miami, there is no choice but to move, or to adapt. "It is our city now," many Cuban Americans say, and the numbers tell part of the story.

"'It is our city now,' many Cuban Americans say, and the numbers tell part of the story."

In the 1990s, some 95,000 white non-Hispanics left Miami-Dade County, decreasing that group's presence by 16 percent to around 492,000, or about one-fifth of the county population.

They either moved away, or, in the case of elderly residents, particularly in the Jewish community, died. (The Jewish population in Miami-Dade County has decreased from about 250,000 to 100,000 in the last two decades. The new destination for Jewish retirees and younger migrants is Broward and Palm Beach counties).

As whites left Miami, they

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poured into Broward. Between 1990 and 1997, the white non-Hispanic population here increased by about 82,000, or 8 percent, to more than a million residents.

These dramatic numbers follow an equally large out-migration of whites during the 1980s. So many non-Hispanic whites left Miami-Dade in the previous decade that Marvin Dunn, a sociologist at Florida International University, who has followed the trend, said in 1991, "You get down to the point below which those who are going to leave have left and the others are committed to stay. I think we're close to that with whites."

But Dunn was wrong. The whites kept leaving.

"White migration to Miami-Dade has essentially stopped," said William Frey, a demographer at the University of Michigan who coined the phrase "demographic balkanization" to describe the ongoing trend of ethnic and racial groups to self-segregate — not only within a city, but from city to city and from state to state.

"The two appear almost like mirror images of each other," Frey said of Broward and Miami-Dade counties. "There is definitely something going on here and we can only guess what it is. But this 'One America' that Clinton talks about is clearly not in the numbers. Segregation and non-assimilation continue."

Many times, native whites on the move explain that Miami now feels to them like "a foreign country," and they feel "overwhelmed" by the presence not just of some Spanish-speakers, but so many.

"This feeling of being the beleaguered minority is creating among some a new consciousness of 'white ethnicity'..."

"You order a coke without ice," said an executive and mother of three who moved to Broward from Miami in 1996 and asked that her name not be used. "And you get ice. You say no starch and you get starch. You call government offices, and they can't take a decent message in English. You spell your name letter by letter and they get it wrong. They keep saying 'Que? Que? Que?' (Spanish for 'What?') You go to the mall, and you watch as the clerks wait on the Spanish-speakers before you. It's like reverse racism. You realize, my God, this is what it's like to be the minority."

"The white population feels increasingly beleaguered," said George Wilson, a sociologist at the University of Miami who is studying the phenomenon.

"Their whole domain is changing at the micro-level," Wilson continued. "At the malls, in the schools. A lot of the whites I talk to say they feel challenged by the rapid ethnic and cultural change. A whole population of whites has gone from a clear majority to a clear minority in a very short time... and a lot of them simply say, 'to hell with this' and move up the road."

This feeling of being the beleaguered minority is creating among some a new consciousness of "white ethnicity," and for those who see America's future as a relatively harmonious multicultural state based on shared ideas of capitalism and freedom, this may not bode well.

For if whites do want to share power and place, or if they feel increasingly shoved aside or overwhelmed in the cities and states of high immigration, they will continue to vote with their feet, by moving away, creating not a rainbow of citizens but a more balkanized nation, with jobs, university enrollments, public spending, schools all seen through ethnic or racial prisms, including among whites.

Several of those interviewed complain that the politics of Miami-Dade are dominated by the issues of the newcomers, particularly the Cuban Americans, who wait for the fall of Fidel Castro; they see in the city hall, where a number of officials were recently indicted and convicted of taking kickbacks after it was discovered that the city was broke, a "banana republic" of ethnic cronyism; they dislike being referred to in Spanish media as "the Americans" by Miami's Hispanic residents and politicians, as if they were the foreigners. TSC

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Miami — A Vision of Our Future?

by Ellen Sugarman

According to *Travel and Leisure* magazine it is "the most unfriendly city in America." *Fodor's International* says it's the country's "most unsafe" destination. And *George* dubbed it the "most corrupt city in America." Judging from these and other "Wish you *weren't* here!" postcards, America's long honeymoon with Miami seems to be over, a casualty of the city's serial political scandals, a history of corruption in high places, rampant crime and a chilling climate of alienation and violence.

Unless you're living or traveling there, none of this might seem to matter except that Miami also may be the nation's capital of multiculturalism, a showcase for the demographic bouillabaisse the country seems destined to become — and a harbinger of the consequences of dramatic change.

Former Miami city commissioner Humberto Hernandez recently pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit bank, wire and mail fraud — crimes for which he could be sentenced to as many as 14 years in prison. In March, Mayor Xavier Suarez was booted out of office after just four months when a state investigation found extensive voter fraud. Suarez was dubbed "Mayor Loco" by some for his occasional erratic behavior, including his onetime threat to sue the *Miami Herald* if it didn't improve its coverage of him. Replacing Suarez with Joe Carollo didn't end the high jinks at city hall: Corollo launched an aggressive campaign to rid the place of Suarez cronies by firing the city manager — three separate times — even as the city commission kept reinstating him.

State and federal corruption fighters have real job security in Miami, thanks to the nearly 300 city or Dade County officials already indicted, a list that seems to grow longer daily. This year and last, entire city departments have come under scrutiny. For instance, the Miami-Dade building department has been cited by a grand jury for failing to enforce the building codes, taking kickbacks for permits and ignoring serious flaws in a large construction project. Director Lee Martin, Chief Inspector Carlos Valdez and Assistant Director Rewinaldo Villar have been indicted (all three deny the charges) and removed from their positions. Valdes also was charged with operating his own construction business while on the county payroll and greasing the skids by inspecting his own jobs.

Last November, a *Miami Herald* team investigating county road projects discovered that more than $1 million had been paid for "phantom road work" which never was performed. The paper also found "staggering overcharges" for other work, including one six-figure bill that had been paid twice. Moreover, *Herald* reporters found that no inspections had been performed on some work and that records had been falsified. As a result of the revelations, officials were fired and an audit was conducted. Contractors blamed unreliable

"State and federal corruption fighters have real job security in Miami, thanks to the nearly 300 city or Dade County officials already indicted..."

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subcontractors; the county blamed "computer glitches."

Little wonder that the city boasts the lowest credit rating in the country next to Washington. A year ago, Standard & Poor's responded to the city's $69 million deficit by giving its debt the equivalent of junk-bond status. [The late] Florida Democratic Governor Lawton Chiles placed Miami's finances under the control of a state oversight board. And [in August 1998], with a city deficit hovering at $30 million and a budget proposal dismissed by members of the control board as "an insult to our intelligence," the oversight panel gave Miami an ultimatum: Clean up your act or the state will take over city operations!

"[The late Governor Lawton Chile's] oversight panel gave Miami an ultimatum: Clean up your act or the state will take over city operations!"

Everyone complains, yet so far no one has come up with a solution to the political corruption and greed that critics say are gripping Miami. A few are breaking the politically correct silence to blame at least some of the problem on the city's ethnic divisions. Dario Moreno, a professor of political science at Miami International University, incurred the wrath of fellow Hispanics when he went on the CBS News magazine *60 Minutes* in January [1998] and criticized Miami's Cuban community for the city's corruption. Today Moreno believes the situation is getting better, crediting the *Herald*, in part, for motivating the change.

"After years of denial, now with all the indictments and the thing with the mayor, the city has come to the decision that it does have a problem with corruption," Moreno tells *Insight*. "After years of silence, the business community is beginning to create a civic culture of no tolerance. If people take a cynical view, then politicians will no longer be able to play the ethnic card." Moreno is referring to Cuban officials who've gone on Hispanic television and radio to claim they're victims of racial prejudice. "One of the reasons people supported corrupt politicians was ethnic loyalty," according to Moreno: "He may be a crook, but he's *our* crook."

Miami's Cuban community, which pulls most of the city's political strings and a lot of the purse strings as well, has been vocal of late in calling for an end to the corruption. In June, Cuban business leaders held a *mesa redondo* (round table) to try to find a solution. And Miami-Dade County Mayor Alex Panellas recently appointed Paul Phillips as "ethics czar" to polish the county's tarnished image with ethics training for county employees and stricter controls on lobbyists.

But Miamians are skeptical. Elena Diaz, a Cuban-American whose parents immigrated to Miami when she was a baby says, "This is the way it was in Cuba before Fidel Castro. I heard my parents talk about it: that country was so corrupt. Corruption's what actually destroyed it and now they're doing the same thing here."

Martin L., a business man who spent most of his 60 years in Miami, doesn't agree that the city's corruption began with the exodus from Cuba. "The rednecks running the city in the old days were just as corrupt," he says. "When the Cubans came here the accents changed and the names changed — the corruption didn't. Miami was always that kind of place," he recalls, "a city where anything could be bought; a frontier city, new and dynamic, build it quick and get rich."

And as for voter fraud? "Nothing new there either," says Martin L. "It was well known that there were men in the black community, very powerful people, who made a living just buying votes."

Meanwhile, other residents complain that the quality of life has eroded because of the sea change in demographics. Retirees and "snow birds" who came here 30 or 40 years ago, lured by the city's climate and conviviality, find themselves in a dramatically different place — one they say often seems to have more in

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common with a banana republic than a great American city.

Mary Cohen, a woman in her seventies who has lived in Miami for 30 years, puts it this way: "My God! I no longer live in America. Would you believe it, in Miami I'm a minority." Today Miami is 55 percent Hispanic, 21 percent black, and 24 percent white, a largely segregated melting pot that often seems on the verge of boiling over.

"Everybody's angry here, everyone wants to fight," says Naomi Wood, a 35-year-old painter who moved to Miami three years ago. "The roads are impossible. Did you see the way people drive? They're so hostile!"

Language barriers may be further dividing the city. English-only speakers complain that often they can't be understood. Bilingualism frequently is required to get a job. The *Herald* publishes a Spanish-language edition, and Spanish-language radio and TV stations recently eclipsed the English stations in overall ratings.

In addition, economic factors almost certainly are exacerbating demographic tensions. The pay scale in Miami is one of the lowest of any major city, according to Department of Labor statistics, and wages there have gone down in the last decade, while most of the rest of the country's pay was increasing. Thus, working-class blacks, Hispanics and whites are locked in a bitter struggle over jobs. One often hears the complaint that "these people" (meaning newly arrived aliens) will work for nothing.

"It's no secret that drugs contribute heavily to Miami's crime problem."

Yet reducing the city's socioeconomic tensions, and bridging the gap between the haves and the have-nots often seems a low priority. Miami has a dozen municipal swimming pools, for example, but 10 of them are open during only two months of the year. That is because its parks and recreation budget is just $7 million — in a city that just budgeted $200 million for a new performing arts center.

As the gulf deepens between the haves and have-nots, and communications break down between blacks, whites, Hispanics, etc., the city becomes more volatile and dangerous. By now its violent crime rate is legendary, highlighted by brutal attacks on tourists, and so wanton that Miami's perps" have helped add new crimes — including carjacking, drive-by shootings, home invasion — to the national police argot. According to the Florida Department of Law Enforcement, in 1997 Dade County had 305 murders, 1,274 rapes, 12,809 robberies and 21,592 aggravated assaults — that's an increase of 4,282 crimes from 1996 to 1997.

Writer Hillary Hemingway was born in Miami and had every intention of raising her daughter there, until one day she pulled up to a stop sign and a crack addict forced his way into her car. Hillary escaped the attack by driving into a tree, but the incident prompted the Hemingways to put their house on the market and move to a safer place on Florida's west coast.

It's no secret that drugs contribute heavily to Miami's crime problem. Since the 1970s, the city has been numero uno in drug trafficking, and for three decades Miamians have enjoyed an era of "trickle down" economic benefits based on narcodollars. "Ask any officer on the street who answers calls for domestic violence, assault, battery, violent crimes, and they'll tell you there's a nexus to drug use," explains Jim Chambliff, chief investigations in the Florida Department of Law Enforcement's Miami office. "Because of our geographic location, Miami is a prime transshipment site in the U.S. Just the fact that these drugs are coming through our community is a factor" in the corruption.

If Miami is to clean up its image, observers say it will have to address just about every problem in the book: corruption, racism, poverty and drugs. And if it fails? The implications are ominous not just for Miamians, but for all Americans who may see in this city's turmoil the dark mosaic of a troubled future. TSC

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Yearning to Breathe Free

Immigration wave approaching from SE Asia

by James H. Walsh

A century ago when Emma Lazarus wrote, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," she was prophetic. Today her words are strangely apt, as tens of millions of Southeast Asians recover from a poisonous haze produced this past fall by raging forest fires in Indonesia.

The haze drifted over Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, southern Thailand, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and northern Australia. Among those who inhaled the pungent, dirty air, tens of millions sought hospital treatment for infected eyes, asthma, and bronchitis. On Irian Jaya, (Indonesian New Guinea), 500 persons — mostly children and infants — died from famine and cholera aggravated by the smoky haze. Among haze-related deaths in Indonesia and Malaysia, several hundred were linked to poor visibility on roads and waterways. Haze was a factor in the September 1997 crash of a Garuda jetliner that killed all 234 persons aboard.

Depressed by economic and environmental disasters, Southeast Asia is about to send the United States a new wave of immigrants.

Among the half million acres of land that burned were brushlands, rain forests, and even peat and coal seams underground. Indonesia is one of many Third World countries that have accepted shipments of hazardous waste from developed countries. As forest fires blazed, Indonesian students protested that their country had become a dumping ground for the Netherlands, the former colonial ruler of the archipelago. Should a forest or peat fire spread to hazardous waste dumps, the toxicity would be magnified many times.

The fires, which have become an annual event, were spread in 1997 by a drought prolonged by the El Niño weather pattern which delayed the monsoon. In addition to the human health risk, the fires threatened primary rain forests and rare species of wildlife. They also accompanied crop failures and water shortages. For Southeast Asia, the forest fires of 1997 were an environmental disaster. For the United States, they signal a new wave of immigrants, fleeing concentrated population, poverty, pollution, and impending national economic collapse.

Push and Pull

In past years, the lure that attracted immigrants to the United States and to a lesser degree to Canada and Mexico was money. Be it wages or welfare, the money, though not great in Western terms, was enormous by Third World standards. Immigrants arrived ready to work two or three jobs or to qualify for social benefits. The poverty push and money pull is now joined by a pollution push at home and a clean-air pull in host countries. The new immigrants will come legally or illegally; their arrival is as inevitable as Pacific currents and as relentless.

Over the past 30 years, as the United States admitted record numbers of legal immigrants, many more entered illegally, slipping by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Southeast Asian emigrants, whose numbers have not been large in the past, will now be joining this unstoppable force of humanity.

The price of industrialization for them will be emigration in search of food, water, and clean air for their children. Global trade has exploited their natural resources, cheap labor, and lax environmental enforcement, but that exploitation may be coming

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home to roost for developed countries. The magnitude of the forest-fire haze crisis was unforeseen by Western analysts who promoted Southeast Asia as an industrial park for global trade.

The combined economic and environmental disasters experienced by members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will serve as a catalyst for emigration, with the majority coming from Indonesia — the world's fourth-largest nation. Burma, now Myanmar, is mired in poverty so that hundreds of thousands of its citizens are illegally in Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore. Thus, Indonesia and Burma will be sending new immigrants to the West.

"Malaysia and Singapore are host countries for large numbers of ASEAN immigrants, legal and illegal. Many would who fail to qualify for legal entry risk illegal entry in pursuit of economic improvement."

In recent years, Indonesians have pondered a jobs-or-trees quandary, which has shaped up as a lose-lose situation. Deforestation continues, as the most productive rain forests are scheduled for logging, but the promised jobs have not materialized. In response, Indonesians sought entry into neighboring countries, and now they will be looking further abroad. Young Indonesians can earn more for their growing families elsewhere, especially with the regional economy in a tailspin.

Transmigration

Migration is not a new experience in Indonesia. The government policy of transmigration — resettling the poor of densely populated Java on sparsely developed outer islands — began back when Indonesia was a Dutch colony famous for its Spice Islands. Today Java continues to hold half of Indonesia's 206 million people; but this island, once famous for its teak, is now largely deforested. Farming land is scarce, and water shortages recurrent. The government must do something to keep Java from becoming the "Haiti" of Asia.

Over the years, the transmigration program has moved 8 million people from Java and nearby crowded islands. Among the 13,000-plus islands that make up the Indonesian archipelago, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya — large islands rich in natural resources — have been targets for resettlement. On these territories, transmigrants — the poor and unskilled of Java — have had to compete with tribal peoples for rain forest cropland in a replay of cowboys and Indians in the United States.

Government-sponsored clearing of the rain forest to build homes and schools for transmigrants has become an Indonesian bone of contention. Cropland-clearing by transmigrants ranks after commercial logging and tree plantations as a major cause of annual dry-season forest fires and haze.

Flaws are appearing in the transmigration policy, as transmigrants sneak back to their former urban homes or try to enter Malaysia, Singapore, or Australia to seek a better life. If the economy won't come to Mohammed, Mohammed will come to the economy.

"Intra-ASEAN" Migration

Malaysia and Singapore are host countries for large numbers of ASEAN immigrants, legal and illegal. Many who would fail to qualify for legal entry risk illegal entry in pursuit of economic improvement. The Malaysian government estimates that 600,000 Indonesians are currently in the country on legal work permits; those there illegally increase the total considerably. For instance, an estimated 280,000 Indonesians reside illegally in the state of Sabah (Malaysian Borneo) alone. As with illegal alien counts worldwide, estimates — the only gauge — are notoriously low. Intra-ASEAN patterns of illegal immigration create problems similar to those experienced by Western Europe and North America.

Malaysia and neighboring Singapore admit to having problems with illegal aliens — Filipino maids, Indonesian construction workers, Bangladeshi laborers, and Myanmar waitresses — who take low-paying jobs disdained by the host country's rising middle class.

Day in and day out, the Southeast Asian news

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media carry immigration stories, spotlighting a range of problems from the criminal activities of illegal aliens to sham Muslim marriages as a means of securing legal residency. Singapore nationals are of one voice in demanding control of immigration by their government; no unskilled workers need apply!

Government authorities attribute the rise in crime in Malaysia and Singapore to the rise in illegal aliens. Most undocumented aliens are unskilled workers who drain a country's social services and strain its criminal justice system. Depending on the country, varying degrees of medical, social, and welfare services are available to legal workers, foreign students, and even to undocumented aliens, and the costs to host countries are rising. ASEAN host countries, along with Western Europe and North America, are seeing an increase of dark-skinned laborers who pack into small apartments; eke out a living at construction, lawn work, or housework; and send wages home to their families.

Although Malaysia and Singapore recruit foreign workers with academic degrees and technical skills, they are turning back the unskilled. Malaysia, in January 1998, announced the expulsion of I million legal foreign workers. Thailand projects that, within the next three years, it will send home 1.5 million foreign workers. In April of 1998, Thailand was systematically searched for foreign workers — Peoples Republic of China, India, Indonesia, and Myanmar nationals. These skilled and semi-skilled foreign workers, most of them Indonesians, are feeling the direct impact of Asia's financial depression.

Ethnic and religious unrest is also linked to immigration. In Muslim nations of the region, newspaper headlines tell of physical attacks on ethnic groups, especially ethnic Chinese. Most of these attacks have religious overtones, for the majority of Indonesians and Malaysians are Muslims who resent people of other religions coming to their countries.

Singapore, whose population is 72 percent ethnic Chinese, is the exception. The affluent city-state separated politically from Malaysia in 1965 because of its majority non-Muslim citizenry. As ethnic Chinese gained positions of power, they felt constrained by Malaysia's Muslim culture. Singaporians also retained stronger ties to the English culture and economic and

The Korean Connection

The United States maintains a large military presence in South Korea, and since the end of hostilities in 1953, many soldiers have fallen prey to the boredom of peacetime duty. Despite the best efforts of their officers and chaplains, some soldiers insist on marrying their Korean girlfriends or mama-sons. Unfortunately, many mama-sons or "mooses," in reality, are prostitutes, looking for a way to emigrate to the United States. They are supported in these efforts by their pimps, who have standing orders to provide fresh flesh for brothels in America. These pimps, working with gangsters in Hawaii and California — most of them in the United States illegally — form the Korean Connection which specializes in exploiting soldiers.

They set girls up near military bases in Korea and given them one assignment — get a GI on the hook. Treat him super-special, bathe him, cook for him, serve his every wish — drugs or alcohol or sex. The girls do whatever it takes to wed the unwary. Thousands of GIs have brought home Korean wives, or so they thought; and many of these war brides have waited less than a month before filing for divorce. In the United States as lawful permanent residents (LPRs), they then are free to relocate in California or Hawaii where jobs await them with the same criminals who set them up in Korea.

By the 1970s Korean marriage fraud had grown to such proportions that the Department of Justice inspector general initiated an investigation. The immigration papers of most of the Korean brides were processed in the Honolulu INS office, which was known to approve foreign-spouse paperwork, no matter how outrageously improper the circumstances. After a ten-year investigation the inspector general determined that the INS supervisor approving the applications was acting in a questionable manner. As it turned out, he was married to a Korean woman, with whom he operated the largest brothel in Hawaii, solely with Korean prostitutes — all former wives of GIs.

— From an unpublished manuscript by James H. Walsh, former Associate General Counsel with the INS

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legal systems of their former colonial days than did the rest of Malaysia. Singapore tolerates no unrest among its diverse ethnic groups.

In the past, Indonesians made undocumented entry into sympathetic neighboring countries confident that, should they be caught, the host country would return them to their home country, which would accept them back. With water shortages in Java, however, the government has been slow in accepting returnable illegals.

"An exodus from Southeast Asia of low-paid workers headed for the United States, Mexico, or Central America will be welcomed by manufacturers and their investors."

As the population of Southeast Asia grows, at a rate exceeding that of China and India, intra-ASEAN migration will no longer suffice as a pressure valve, and immigrants will have to seek distant shores. The Muslim religion does not endorse abortion or family planning, and Southeast Asia's birth rate is twice that of Western nations. It is time for Western nations to prepare for a new wave of immigrants from Southeast Asia. As the economic downturn in the region and uncertain bailout prospects accelerate emigration to Western Europe and the Americas, many Indonesians will make their exodus in the hands of alien smugglers.

Coming to America

Word of the United States' inability to control its borders has spread to remote island villages in Southeast Asia. Word also has spread of immigrants who enter on legal visas and then overstay their visas, and many are catching on to this method of entry. Like their counterparts from India, Pakistan, Somalia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Eastern Europe, those Southeast Asians who go the visa overstay route tend to be more educated or criminally connected.

Immigration to North America is much more expensive, difficult, and dangerous than immigration to an ASEAN host country, but many Indonesians believe it is Allah's will. Despite the historical tie between Indonesia and the Netherlands, that country actively dissuades Indonesian immigrants.

As Indonesians hear reports of large Muslim communities in major U.S. cities, the attraction of co-religionists becomes an added inducement. They also hear that the United States allows unrestricted religious expression — even expression that some would say borders on terrorism.

Because the trip from Indonesia to the United States is a long one, many emigrants will depend on alien smuggling gangs. Technologically first-rate, well-informed, corporately organized, and militarily effective, alien smuggling rings are utterly ruthless. They have an entrepreneurial creativity unburdened by bureaucratic delays and back-pedaling. Politically savvy, they make large contributions to sympathetic politicians and enlist humanitarian special-interest groups to lobby legislators and the news media to promote immigrant rights. In turn, alien smugglers have no oversight or legislation to impede them, and they benefit from the support of many U.S. farmers and manufacturers, whether overt or covert. As one alien smuggler said, "Money talks — everything else walks."

As the economic downturn in Southeast Asia drives up migration, Chinese alien smuggling gangs have found a new market, adding Thais, Laotians, Cambodians, and Indonesians to their clientele. True to their trade, smugglers use illegal immigrants for drug smuggling, prostitution, indentured servitude, or criminal hooliganism. One way or another, the smugglers extract their pound of flesh.

Should immigrants be short on cash, that is easily remedied. Smugglers sell penniless immigrants to U.S., Mexican, or Central American labor exploiters who rent them out to industries as light machine operators, manual laborers, seamstresses, waitresses, or prostitutes. As one exploiter said, "We're just labor jobbers, middlemen helping both sides."

Alien smugglers do not always deliver illegals to the agreed destination. Instead of Los Angeles, an immigrant may end up in a Nicaraguan sweatshop making athletic wear for a Sandanista patrone who is

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now a local product assembler, a pseudo-capitalist.

Multinational companies, especially in the clothing and toy industries, use Third World workers as cheap, reliable, and productive assemblers. After World War II, they used Japanese workers, then Taiwanese, Korean, Mexican, and now Southeast Asian. Central America has witnessed its own productive workers and their families migrate to the United States. Amnesty and family unification programs passed by the U.S. Congress have created a void in cheap labor sources in the Western Hemisphere. An exodus from Southeast Asia of low-paid workers heading for the United States, Mexico, or Central America will be welcomed by manufacturers and their investors.

Public Health Concerns

The health of the coming wave of immigrants cannot be ignored. In recent years, open-border advocates have downplayed immigrant health, but this strategy will no longer be possible. Reports are surfacing of contagious strains of diseases such as malaria, cholera, and tuberculosis. Occasionally, the U.S. news media mentions increased TB cases in public schools with large immigrant populations, and medical journals increasingly report on the spread of more virulent and aggressive strains of these diseases and on the emergence of new antibiotic-resistant bacteria. Reports from through-out Southeast Asia refer to a new form of malaria called the "killer" or falciparum strain.

Air travel facilitates disease transmission, especially when immigrants enter the United States on false and fraudulent documentation attesting to health exams that never were made. Frequently, illegal immigrants have a disease that would not permit their legitimate entry on a work or student visa.

Each flu season attests to the potential for outbreaks of new viruses from foreign lands. New and resistant strains of HIV viruses are crossing U.S. borders, and Southeast Asia is an incubation area for this and other sexually transmitted diseases. The brothels of Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, though targeted by public health officials, continue to infect hundreds of thousands of men and women, among them, those with plans of immigrating to the western hemisphere.

United Nations health officials recently admitted "grossly underestimating" infection rates of the HIV virus that causes AIDS. Health officials must now reexamine projected numbers of AIDS deaths. U.N. officials attribute the faulty estimates to a lack of accurate reporting by member nations. In the United States, politically correct manipulations of AIDS numbers are thus being outed. World Health Organization estimates for new cases of AIDS in Southeast Asia in 1997 were 1.3 million, but in light of the U.N. announcement, this guesstimate will prove to be low.

A researcher at the U.S. National Institutes of Health opined that new diseases — ones not seen before in the United States — are reaching unacceptable levels. The public may ignore the problem, until there is an epidemic, but, by then, it will be too late. Legal immigrants usually have medical examinations, and, at least in the past, the U.S. government enforced entry restrictions for the ill, but illegal immigrants enter unscreened for communicable diseases. Alien smugglers are not in the business of asking for health records.

"...new diseases are reaching unacceptable levels. Legal immigrants usually have medical examinations...but illegal immigrants enter unscreened for communicable diseases."

Open-Door Asylum and Amnesty

Each succeeding wave of illegal aliens entering the United States quickly learns the rules. Depending on country of birth, they claim asylum, but usually only upon apprehension. Although it is difficult to make a case for political persecution in a U.S. ally like Indonesia, claims of religious and ethnic persecution are gaining in popularity. Human rights organizations mobilize to plead for relaxation of U.S. immigration laws and regulations, based on heart-wrenching stories, stories that often do not bear scrutiny.

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Muslim women of all countries can now claim fear of genital mutilation, even though the practice is rare outside the African culture. INS approval of such claims has opened a new asylum door. The claim of forced prostitution is another sure winner, even when, like most asylum claims, the truth is hard to ascertain. A Mexican man, who claimed persecution in Mexico because of his homo-sexuality, was granted asylum over vehement denials of any such prejudice by the Mexican government. What matters is the ability of the applicant to tug on the heartstrings of Americans. The more outrageous the story, the surer the immigrant can be of asylum. Alien smugglers instruct their clients in asylum strategy as part of their transportation fee.

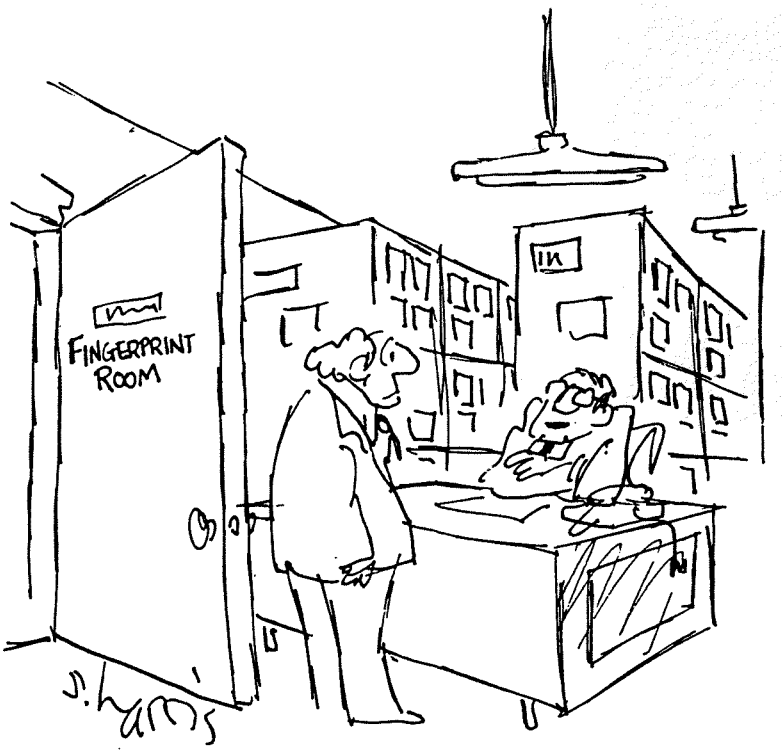
The coming wave of Southeast Asian immigrants to the United States is inevitable. Special-interest advocates and alien smugglers, learning from past mistakes, study the U.S. psyche and political makeup of both parties — the fervor of the Democrats and the acquiescence of the Republicans. They depend on the INS being a day late and a dollar short, and they count on Congress and the President being several days late, with foreign dollars stuffed in their campaign coffers.

In 1997, the Republican-controlled Congress succumbed to special-interest groups and revoked get-tough provisions of the 1996 immigration law. By Congressional order, thousands of illegal aliens with criminal records remain in the United States, while the government processes their applications for legal permanent residency.

The U.S. Congress has pressed the INS into an unofficial open-door amnesty program for illegal aliens — one that is well known within the illegal alien community. There is a risk that immigrants will be indebted to open-border advocates with a political agenda, an agenda that may be contrary to U.S. foreign policy. When the United States weakens its laws to accept all comers, it accepts the risk that hidden among Indonesian immigrants fleeing pollution in their homeland are those who come to bring America down through criminal activities or terrorism.

Even though environmental degradation is not mentioned in the United Nations definition of refugees, it need not be a legal impediment for the coming Indonesians. If immigrants from every other country can now enter the United States with impunity, why should environmental refugees from Indonesia be excluded?

Bring on your huddled masses yearning to breathe free; only the few are refused. Welcome to the United States. No questions asked — except perhaps "Would you like to register to vote?" TSC



"WE HAVE FORTY MILLION OF THEM, BUT FRANKLY THEY ALL LOOK ALIKE TO ME."

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Human Competition and Human Fertility

Book Review by Leon Bouvier

In this excellently written (in English and not in "Demographese!) English demographer-author Jack Parsons has outdone himself. In its 800-plus pages, *Human Population*, literally, to use a baseball analogy, covers all the bases. His overarching theme is that competition between groups (either within a country or across international boundaries) makes it almost impossible to achieve what Parsons considers (and I concur) to be the ideal demographic situation for Planet Earth — a stationary population no larger, but ideally smaller, than our present 6 billion people.

Parsons is definitely not parochial in his approach. One might expect him to concentrate on the United Kingdom. This is definitely not the case. Not only does he cover most of the planet, but he also goes back in time to include some very interesting anthropological information showing how some ancient tribes actually had zero population growth societies. As one reads through these handily-sized two volumes (plus the best index I have ever seen), the reviewer becomes increasingly amazed at the immensity of Parson's knowledge and background. *Human Population* is undoubtedly his *magnum opus*, as well it should be.

One's first reaction to this information is "everybody knows that." It soon becomes apparent that "everyone doesn't know that." To Parsons, population competition includes religious, political, military, racial and ethnic, economic, environmental, and sexual competition — and, given the length of the book, I may have omitted a few! But the point is obvious: because of the desires of Group A to outnumber Group B, increased fertility (and sometimes immigration) is the only solution.

Parsons does not limit himself to the question of population competition. He also examines related issues such as the view of "cornucopians" like the late Julian Simon (for whom he has little respect) and Ben Wattenberg (ditto!). He looks at how censuses are counted (and miscounted?) and how they are used to the advantage of certain groups (or suppressed altogether if that suits those in power).

Human Population Competition: A Study of the Pursuit of Power Through Numbers
by Jack Parsons
Lewiston, NY:
The Edwin Mellen Press
803 pages, 2 vol. set $225.00

On reading this monograph, any one concerned about over-population (as is Parsons and this reviewer) can become quite discouraged. How do you convince a minority group (for example) not to advocate larger families so as to become the majority? Parsons stresses that within the next two decades, Hispanics will outnumber African-Americans in the United States — at current demographic rates. Does that suggest that African-Americans should increase their fertility to make certain that this does not happen? I would prefer that they join many others in arguing for stringent controls on immigration. But that is another story.

While this may be a biased statement coming from one who feels strongly that world population (as well as that of the United States) is already too large, I must confess to be in agreement with most of Parson's positions. Early on (p.14) Parsons makes his own preference obvious:

> *Perhaps we <u>should</u> work towards a world with the maximum-sized human population at an*

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> *acceptably high and preferably universally shared quality of life, but it is not self-evident that this is the ideal. If we do pursue this, it must surely be with a very long-term perspective that will steer us — bearing all sorts of environmental exigencies in mind — towards optimisation rather than maximisation.*

He then continues (p.194):

> *If the world's 198 countries could all agree that an average of 20 million is big enough, while some of them might grow appreciably in proportionate terms, world population, at 3.7 billion...would go down by around one-third from the mid-1997 figure, about 5.84 billion. Even at the highest present per capita levels of pollution, this would surely give a dramatic improvement in the average quality of life.*

I could continue citing excellent examples from the book, but I leave that up to prospective readers. I hope they will be numerous, not discouraged by its length.

On the negative side, Parsons, as I indicated earlier, probably considers this his *magnum opus* — and rightfully so. This means he is determined to include everything possible. That can lead to some problems. First, we learn much more of the author's personal life than is ordinarily expected. He is English but lives in Wales, in a suburb of Cardiff. He is a political Liberal, but with some reservations, and, especially important, he is a dedicated humanist. Unfortunately, this leads him into some troublesome areas.

His anti-Catholicism is obvious. (Interestingly, as I re-examined the book and looked into the Index, the references to "Church of England" — except for a note about accepting women into the priesthood, "Episcopalian", and "Anglican" surprisingly were missing.) Now, as a practicing Catholic, I agree with much of what Parsons has to say about the pro-natalist position of the Roman Church. For example, he quotes reports of John Paul II speaking in Africa (of all places): "During his 1985 tour of Africa [he] ... urged Africans to ignore ideas from the developed world on limiting the size of families by contraception and abortion. He praised the high value Africans traditionally place on children and warned that these were threatened by a 'powerful anti-life mentality.'" He also cites reports of Mother Teresa (the late, highly-publicized, "saintly" nun) saying in Egypt (again, of all places) "According to the *Observer*, in her 1981 tour of Egypt, whose number were then over 43 million and doubling every generation, she was urging all mothers to 'Have lots and lots of children.' It is hard to find words for such mindless irresponsibility." This reviewer agrees entirely with Parson's objections, not only to the teachings of the Catholic church on family planning but to its undue influence in world affairs, such as at the recently concluded Cairo conference on Population and the Environment. However, when the point is made over and over, one is tempted to add: "Enough already!"

"How do you convince a minority group not to advocate larger families so as to become the majority?"

However, Parsons occasionally strays beyond his own area of knowledge, even about religion. For example, in reference to the miracle of transubstantiation, basic to all Catholics, he derisively refers to it as "symbolic cannibalism." He simply refers to it as "eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ via the mechanism of transubstantiation." (p.237). He simply does not comprehend the true meaning of a miracle. And for that matter, neither does any other human on this planet. It is simply accepted on faith. Such an inconsiderate statement is insulting to millions of Catholics. (Aside to Jack: I receive Communion a few times every week; does that make me a cannibal, or even a symbolic cannibal? I would hope not!).

In another religion-related area, Parsons is fond of quoting the Bible, almost always in a negative manner, and without detailed explanation. I am not a Biblical scholar (and I suspect, neither is Parsons). I do know that numerous theologians of various faiths from all over the world have tried to better understand its

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sometimes arcane language. It seems strange that Parsons can quote whatever suits him best from the Bible in a very off-handed manner.

"...the author is convinced that the concept of 'optimum population' can save the day."

To his credit, however, Parsons admits his anti-Bible viewpoint and gives the Bible its due as appropriate to his work, as on p.713:

> *This book contains a number of biblical quotations, some in a none-too-flattering context, but this epic document also contains much sound ecology and demography. ...As well as telling local humankind to 'increase and multiply', Genesis states firmly 'And the Lord God took the man (Adam) and settled him in the Garden of Eden to cultivate it and to protect it* (italics in the text). *The word 'cultivate' itself strongly implies taking good care of the land, as any half-competent gardener or farmer knows, and the injunction to 'protect' it strongly reinforces the message.*

Parsons concludes from this passage:

> *We might reasonably read into this the implication that the Garden of Eden must not be abused or unduly exploited, its carrying-capacity must not be diminished over the longer term* (p.713).

Parsons introduces many neologisms — perhaps still another might be added by this reviewer. Is it not time for the development of an"ecological theology" that would look at both the environment and population growth?

One final criticism. As I read through the book, I eagerly anticipated its conclusion, but refrained from "cheating" and looking at it ahead of schedule! Frankly, the conclusion is somewhat disappointing. Apparently, the author is convinced that the concept of "optimum population" can save the day as will the determination not to allow too many immigrants into a nation, so as not to encourage population competition. Little is said about the few successes that have occurred (Bangladesh, for example); next to nothing is said about the very low fertility of Italy, Spain, and Ireland (all Catholic countries, by the way!), and how their experience can be utilized by others. Frankly, I expected more from his final chapters.

Nevertheless, in sum, this is a truly excellent book. I do have one recommendation however. The publisher should be commandeered to have Jack Parsons prepare an abbreviated, one-volume, paperback edition of this monograph. Far too often, brilliant pieces (like this one) are read only by those who are already in agreement with the thoughts of the authors. What is desperately needed is a quantity of shorter (and much less expensive) books that can be read by a much larger audience. The people of this planet still need to be educated to the problems associated with overpopulation. By cutting out certain parts of this book and limiting a smaller edition to, say, 300 pages many more people would read it and *learn* from it. Then Jack Parsons would really be performing a great duty for our movement.

TSC

The Social Contract Revisited

I owe this work to Rousseau, the standard-bearer of Socratic politics in the modern era; to Jefferson, the so-called American Rousseau; to de Tocqueville, still the most prescient critic of American democracy; to Thoreau, the American Socrates; to Le Bon, the original and best analyst of mass society; and to Jung, the preeminent twentieth-century exponent of the examined life...

Too much of contemporary social science and political criticism consists in reinventing the wheel... Why, for instance, does the vast literature on "public goods" virtually ignore Rousseau's *Social Contract*, which diagnoses the problem and proposes a solution?

— William Ophuls, in the Bibliographic Note to his book, *Requiem for Modern Politics* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997 (HarperCollins)

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Ecological Understanding of the Human Predicament

It is still all about carrying capacity

Book Review by Craig Straub

Originally published in 1980, this reprinted book from The University of Illinois Press synthesizes the disciplines of ecology and sociology and provides a message containing prophetic implications of 16th Century astrologer Michel de Nostradame (Nostradamus). Traditional achievements of exuberance through natural resource depletion are replaced with a new ecological paradigm which allows the reader to understand consequences of irrupting beyond the earth's permanent carrying capacity. Catton provides a concise analysis of Homo sapiens affliction with cornucopian cataracts caused by the supposed cure of technologic progress. This book provides a repeated reminder that human society is merely a strand within the web of life and to ignore the application of ecological principles to daily living habits is to invoke self-inflicted fate.

Overshoot: The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change

by William R. Catton, Jr.
Champagne-Urbana:
University of Illinois Press
298 pages, $16.95

The author provides a comprehensive assessment of the human predicament by illuminating historical causes of our present overloaded world, applying ecological principles to human situations, and sharpening critical thinking skills to formulate an ecological perspective to thoroughly understand the wages of overshoot. An excellent glossary is provided to assist with ecological terminology used throughout the book.

History reveals that for 2 million years human inhabitants have enlarged human carrying capacity by responding to selection pressures with technologic breakthroughs. Technology historically began with the use of fire and hand tools and progressed into the development of metal tools, fossil fueled machinery, and death control. The Age of Exploration and centuries of colonial expansion displaced other species and diverted biotic resources from the natural community to support the human community. Land which contained trees, shrubs, and grasses to provide food and shelter for the biotic community was converted to crops for human consumption. Agrarian living was replaced with industrial consumption of carboniferous vegetation (coal and oil) which reinforced the myth of limitless resources.

The ecological principle of succession provides the basis for understanding the predicament of the human community. Ecological succession is the replacement of one biotic community by another progressing toward a stable ecosystem. Abandoned cropland no longer tended becomes dominated by grasses followed many years later by shrubs then trees. Similar successional trends occur when freshwater ecosystems such as ponds or lakes turn into a meadow and then a forest. Succession begins as open water with plankton until the depth becomes more shallow by accumulating organic debris (silt) to support submerged vegetation. As depth becomes more shallow and drier, floating and emergent plants along with trees begin to colonize.

Catton applies the principle of succession to the human community. Homo sapiens have preserved their global dominance by migrating from one altered local habitat to a new promised land after exhausting

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the soil, fish, timber, and mineral deposits. John Steinbeck's 1939 novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, depicted the plight of people who migrated from devastated Oklahoma farmlands to California, where the dominant locals were reluctant to share their goods with new arrivals. Earlier, millions of people from overpopulated Europe were on their way to the new world. The inhabitants of the Western hemisphere, the Indians, were not equipped with the numbers or technology to resist European invasion. The Europeans had the power to change everything except the laws of nature. They were not exempt from ecological principles, which would ensure their dominance was less than eternal.

"Homo sapiens have preserved their global dominance by migrating from one altered local habitat to a new promised land after exhausting the soil, fish, timber, and mineral deposits."

Succession took us from the Age of Exuberance to the age of overpopulation and resource exploitation. Mechanized agriculture provided techniques to out-compete other members of the animal kingdom by consuming the plant kingdom which was followed by two doublings of the earth's population. If man's modification to the web of life with steel plows, mechanical harvesters and synthetic fertilizers and pesticides were to halt, and the modified ecosystems were allowed to revert to their previous condition six human generations ago, then four earths would be needed to support the human population of this earth. Hindsight reveals the human community would have been wise to recognize the precedents which damaged our habitat's capacity to support our species.

Emphasis is placed on the non-exempt status of the human species to population crash. The principles of ecology apply to all species who irrupt beyond the carrying capacity. Bloom and crash occurred to the human population of Easter Island, located in the South Pacific off the coast of Chile. Two canoe loads of Polynesians settled this 45-square mile island and maintained sustenance by raising chickens, gardening, and fishing. Dissension erupted from disagreement about improvement of food production in a finite environment which precipitated genocidal warfare.

Another example of crash is from the animal kingdom. In 1944, twenty-nine reindeer were introduced to St. Matthew Island. By 1963, the herd increased to 6,000, the reindeer carrying capacity was between 1,600 and 2,300, which was 2.6 times what the island could support. Exceeding the carrying capacity caused habitat damage, plummeting the population to 42 reindeer in 1966.

The author summarized the human and mammalian population examples of crash:

> *We can see from these examples that the agent by which post-irruption crash occurs may be something other than starvation. True, the Canadian water weed in Britain may have died back from exhausting some nutrient, and the reindeer devastated the lichen population upon which they depended for winter forage on St. Matthew Island. But the people of Easter Island began their own crash by conflict, and then inflicted starvation upon the survivors by maliciously disrupting food production activities. On the other hand, a study of an irrupting herd of Sika deer on James Island in Maryland found they were well-nourished and parasite-free at the time of die-off. Their growth was markedly inhibited, and this inhibition was shown by autopsy to be due to physiological disturbances induced by the behavioral stress associated with high population density.*
>
> *In drawing lessons for mankind at large from these varied examples, we must first acknowledge that species differences are no protection from the basic pattern. Second, we must recognize that, even with an abundance of food, crash can happen (p.217).*

Adapting to post-exuberant conditions will require a revolutionary orientation to understand and penetrate the root of the human predicament. The new ecological paradigm for adaptation recognizes the

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following basic ideas:

1) Human beings are just one species among many species that are interdependently involved in biotic communities.

2) Human social life is shaped by intricate linkages of cause and effect (and feedback) in the web of nature, and because of these, purposive human actions have many unintended consequences.

3) The world we live in is finite, so there are potent physical and biological limits constraining economic growth, social progress, and other aspects of human living.

4) However much the inventiveness of Homo sapiens or the power of Homo colossus may seem for a while to transcend carrying capacity limits, nature has the last word (p. 238).

Catton concludes that the human community is condemned to bet on an uncertain future. Misperception of the human situation will motivate efforts to pursue solutions which make matters worse. An ecological understanding of the human predicament will help avoid constructing "the road to hell paved with good intentions." We must act to ensure the inevitable crash minimizes die-off of the human species. Policies must be developed to diminish global dominance to avoid the fatal practice of stealing from posterity.

This book is a vital contribution to the field of Human Ecology and is a comprehensive reference containing the application of ecological principles to the human situation. TSC

Is Immigration Reform a Good Thing?

Book Review by Scip Garling

In *Not Like Us*, University of Cincinnati history professor Roger Daniels examines the conditions in America for three groups (Blacks, Amerindians and immigrants) and the "reactionary forces" hostile to them, exploring the "paradox" that "a period of supposed progress was instead filled with conflict and xenophobia" [back cover]. Despite a strong anti-immigration reform tone Daniels' book contains a lot of historical information and context useful to modern reformers — including the story of the *original* moratorium bill and its whirlwind passage in the House!

Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890-1924
by Roger Daniels
Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publishing
192 pages, $12.95

Much of the book is devoted to the plight of American Blacks and Amerindians. While this material is central to Daniels' analysis, it has little relevance to the interests of the average immigration reformer, and may be skimmed without much loss of context. In a small way, this is unfortunate, for it is the "Black" passages that contain the best of Daniels' prose, including his nearly cinematic descriptions of the race riots of the "Red Summer" of 1919 in Chicago and Tulsa.

In a great service to the reader Daniels places the Americanization movement in the larger context of the Progressive movement of which it was an element. Elements that today seem politically disparate — education reform, election reform, immigration reform, Prohibition, women's

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rights — were, during the first quarter of the century, considered facets of a broad agenda of the Progressive movement. (The Progressive movement left a number of legacies, including the initiative/referendum process and the direct election of Senators, who had previously been selected by state legislatures.)

For example, because the Progressive agenda included women's suffrage, the 1924 Immigration Act was preceded by the Cable Act of 1922, which decoupled women's citizenship status from that of their husbands. Before 1922, native-born American women who would marry foreigners would actually *lose* their U.S. citizenship (p.137).

Being part of a larger agenda helped the cause of immigration reform in the 1920s; today a firm connection between it and other reform movements has yet to develop. Inklings in that direction, however, can be seen in the infant Reform party and in the writings of Michael Lind, who has recently suggested in *The New Republic* that immigration reform needs to be one of the central planks in a broader agenda for "neo-Progressives."

Arguably the most important item in *Not Like Us* is news of a legislative "ancestor" to the idea of an immigration moratorium. In December 1920, Representative Albert Johnson, the then-champion of immigration reform, sponsored a moratorium bill which was "introduced, debated, and passed, without any of the customary hearings, in one week" (p.120). By a vote of 296 to 42 (an absolute majority of both parties) the House voted to halt all immigration for one year. (Johnson's original bill was for a two-year halt, but it was modified by the House.) The Senate, however, shelved the bill and replaced it with a quota bill, which was pocket vetoed by Woodrow Wilson in his last week in office. But the Senate's desire to avoid the extremity of a moratorium pushed Congress to enact the quota law of 1921 — later made permanent by the 1924 Act — that kept immigration at a low level until 1965 (p.132).

Daniels' book includes other surprises. Restrictionists, it turns out, did intend to limit Western Hemisphere immigration in the 1924 Act but were blocked by Southwestern legislators "insisting that their regions needed Mexican agricultural labor" (p.136). Much of the reduction in immigration levels in the 1920s and 1930s followed *not* from well-known legislative numerical restrictions, but from the consular service's heavy use of its new executive authority to deny visas to "LPCs" — those "likely to become a public charge" (p.141).

And who would guess the author of the following quote:

> *Our industrial plant is built. ...Our last frontier has long since been reached. ...There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie. ...We are not able to invite the immigration (sic) from Europe to share our endless plenty* (p.149).

That was spoken by liberal Democratic presidential candidate Franklin Roosevelt in a 1932 address to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco.

Unfortunately Daniels occasionally tosses off tantalizing assertions without giving any further evidence:

> *Even the leaders of many of the longer-established immigrants groups supported the [1924 immigration reform] bill, as did many African-American leaders* (p.139).

Also, Daniels is no friend of immigration reform for today, which he sees only as a manifestation of wicked "nativism." Daniels' stance against immigration reform often shows strongly in his writing:

> *Present-day nativists, such as members of FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform), who view the numbers of contemporary immigrants with alarm, fail to note that while the 8-million-plus immigrants of the first decade of this century came to a country of some 90 million persons, those in the 1990s come to one of more than 250 million* (p.159).

If the reader can overlook such flaws, the book is overall an interesting read with information and perspectives that help modern reformers both to understand the success of the earlier movement and to gather clues about repeating it today.

TSC

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Environmental Stress and the Coming Anarchy

Book Review by Ted Wheelwright

This book has an arresting title, and with it four chapter headings to match: (1) The Coming Anarchy: The Collapse of Civilization and the Coming of Hell on Earth, (2) The Ecology of Collapse: Technological and Ecological Mechanisms for the Destruction of Civilization, (3) The Remorseless Working of Things: Population Collides with Environment, (4) Global Meltdown: A Tapestry of Turmoil at the End of the Modern Age.

Although self-contained, the book develops the argument of the authors' previous book, *Healing a Wounded World* (1997) with the same publisher. This argued that human demands on the global ecosystem had already overshot its carrying capacity; consequently we live on ecological credit, stolen from future generations. Hence the phrase "future eating" — a term popularized by T. Flannery in his book *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Islands and People* (Reed Books, Melbourne, 1994).

The authors had argued in their previous book that the types of changes required to avert ecological disaster are too difficult to implement within a few decades. Hence environmental disaster is inevitable, which threatens the human race. This new book continues the theme and focuses on the breakdown of civilization and the resulting loss of life.

The first chapter, "The Coming Anarchy," argues that the world faces chaos and political disintegration over a long period of time. This process had already begun and is manifest in the acceleration of political disintegration leading to increasing crime, ethnic violence, and permanent refugees by the millions. This theme is taken from a book by L. Watson, appropriately titled *Dark Nature: A Natural History of Evil* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1995):

> *Central governments have begun to wither, regional and tribal identities are being revived, and fundamentalism of every stripe is becoming ever more obvious and more strident. Under the pressure of environmental and demographic stress, we are watching the old order crack or fragment into city states and ragged private armies* (pp.250-1).

The authors' thesis is that the modern world is like a nuclear reactor undergoing meltdown. The forces interacting include environmental destruction, economic rationalism, globalization, technology, immigration, multiculturalism, and racial and ethnic conflict. It is argued that there can be no rebirth of an environmentally sensitive civilization, as the damage inflicted is already too great. Hence this is a "Doomsday Book" *par excellence.*

There is a formidable list of authors cited to corroborate the thesis that global change is out of control and a collapse of moral values has occurred, "with consumerism masquerading as a substitute."

America's shortcomings are outlined, from a greedy upper class, to widespread urban decay, a massive drug culture, and the propagation of moral corruption by the visual media. Its fate is said to reflect that of most nations. Environmental problems exacerbate the situation, and create additional sources of social conflict.

Global Meltdown: Immigration, Multiculturalism, and National Breakdown in the New World Disorder
by Joseph Wayne Smith, Graham Lyons, and Evonne Moore
Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers
185 pages, $59.95

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Other countries also have these problems in varying degree, and this leads to anarchy, as Kaplan noted in his recent celebrated articles in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Countries may be destabilized quickly, as in the case of Papua New Guinea. Sir James Goldsmith's book, *The Trap*, is cited with approval on immigration: nations cannot allow themselves to be overwhelmed by it, otherwise they will lose their identity.

The first chapter concludes that as Western nation-states break down, globally organized crime begins to take over and the evolution of an international Mafia is noted. The collapse of civilization as we know it is on the agenda.

The next two chapters deal with the ecology of this collapse and the impact on the environment of increasing population. Australia is seen to be "heading toward extinction from ecological overshoot."

The final chapter emphasizes that the book has attempted an outline and defense of the global meltdown thesis — i.e., that "modern civilization is hurtling towards its doom." It notes that a fully detailed attempt has not been possible, but a shortened version rendered to show the initial plausibility of that thesis. The reader is invited to show that the authors are wrong.

It is suggested that the power of the nation state is flowing to multinational business, in a world where "global elites have decreed that the world shall be a cosmopolitan supermarket." The result, the authors conclude, is catastrophe. This is a powerful book which deserves to be widely read — unlikely because it is very heavy going. A shorter, more popular and readable edition is called for. TSC

You Can Take the Boy Out of the Country, But...

Book Review by John F. Rohe

Early agrarian lifestyles blend into a Middle Ages monastic religious educational experience, which yields to the fast-paced life of a writer in Philadelphia, and culminates in a return to the land in a celebration of agrarian values. One could easily believe this book spans the entire course of recorded human history. In fact, however, it only chronicles the author's life during the 20th century.

Gene Logsdon — author of 17 books, including *The Contrary Farmer*, magazine articles by the hundreds, and a weekly newspaper column — has crafted an autobiographical justification for respecting the land. This is not just for the cause of land conservation; traditional American values also become a casualty as we devour farmland in the name of "progress."

You Can Go Home Again: Adventures of a Contrary Life
by Gene Logsdon
Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press
204 pages, $22.95

According to the American Farmland Trust, urban sprawl devours 1.1 million acres of agricultural land in the United States every year. This amounts to over 3,000 acres per day. Asphalt is not only the last cash crop, but it entombs once vibrant agrarian culture and traditional notions of the common good from which our cherished principles of liberty and democracy emerged.

The loss can be perceived in the feeling of alienation and estrangement shrouding the concrete-

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dominated urban culture. Cynicism thrives as communal values suffer. The loss becomes palpable when we contrast a stroll through congested urban malls with a walk in the woods accompanied by a family, or friends, or a dog.

Logsdon shares a frank analysis of his personal, often humorous, sometimes disappointing, and always well-written life experiences. He imparts a tangible quality to the otherwise imperceptible erosion of culture. According to Logsdon, "Old farmers, like old soldiers, never die. They stamp a piece of land with an indomitable spirit that lives forever."

"...well into an era of sub-replacement fertility ... U.S. demographic pressure now stems from immigration."

He knows we humans remain part of a biological system. This lesson was learned at the creek, affectionately called "The Crick," a stream that ran through his childhood farm home. He respectfully concedes: "the most precious lesson The Crick taught me was the joy of cooperating with nature instead of forever beating my head against the wall of biological logic."

The loss of agricultural land cannot be tied to a single cause. Mechanized farming, genetically-engineered high yielding varieties, the post-industrial drift toward urbanization, and our affinity for sprawling lawns and large lots are factors to be weighed in the loss, but people are still the multiplier on each of these operative causes. More people means more sprawl, less agricultural land, and thus a stranglehold on agrarian values.

The United States is well into an era of sub-replacement-level fertility, but the population of the country continues to grow. U.S. demographic pressure now stems from immigration. The inordinately high and unprecedented rate of migration into the United States not only dilutes U.S. culture, but it also diminishes the land on which Logsdon's values could otherwise flourish. Any doubts can be resolved by observing the effects of population growth on the outskirts of "Yourtown, USA."

You Can Go Home Again exposes the otherwise imperceptible loss to our biological clocks. A loss of 1.1 million acres is substantial, but when it is spread across the United States, the loss often lies beyond our collective attention span. It may be as long as 10, 25, 50 years before the scars on our landscape, and the corresponding toll exacted on our humanity, will become apparent. Logsdon's autobiographical sketch becomes the gauge on which this loss is measured.

Fortunately, Gene Logsdon "can go home again." He found deep, rich soils, adequate groundwater, and a caring community in which his family could still lay down roots. But whether the rest of us can go home again or not depends on immigration policies.

If the valued agrarian heritage so capably illuminated by Logsdon is worth saving, then we must consider root causes as he does. Carrying the trail of causation beyond conventional limits he writes:

> *In a murder, only the immediate deathblow is considered the cause of the deed. When a person lamed in an auto accident is later killed because he cannot flee an assailant, the driver who caused the earlier accident is not implicated.*

Similarly, when a farming community vanished, we might cast blame on the final cause

> *even though it was merely following the same economic philosophy that had already put the village in decline.*

While the author does not specifically point to immigration, he would have us look at the underlying philosophies inflicting the loss of our agricultural communities. And the demographer would have to implicate population growth, especially as that is fueled by immigration policies — or their absence.

In slightly over 200 pages Logsdon artfully captures the heart and soul of a diminishing American legacy; the down-home life on the farm. He recalls a life unrestrained by the field of advertisers feasting on our self-doubts and vulnerabilities, and heralds a life of voluntary simplicity. He builds a case for us to respect what we have before it is eclipsed by our shortsightedness. TSC

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Illegal Human Cargo from China

Experts reveal tenacious smuggling enterprise

Book Review by Helen Leavitt

First of all, this book is a must reference for any serious student of Chinese immigration, legal or illegal. Chapter by chapter, it spells out the vast network of interests, both U.S. citizens and non-citizens, who play a vital role and claim a stake in the lucrative enterprise we know as human smuggling. If nothing else, it is an education that may leave the reader henceforth scrutinizing his President, Congressman, Senator, and waiter in a different light.

The book itself is a compilation by eight authors who have studied various aspects of the Chinese human smuggling trade, with emphasis on its modus operandi within China and the United States, the ultimate destination of the majority of westward-bound Chinese immigrants.

Human Smuggling: Chinese Migrant Trafficking and the Challenge to America's Immigration Tradition
Edited by Paul J. Smith
Washington, D.C.:The Center for Strategic and International Studies
207 pages, $21.95

Most of the these essays were first presented at a meeting of the Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Hawaii in July, 1996 before representatives from the U.S. State Department, the INS, the U.S. Coast Guard, the International Organization for Migration, the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service, universities, non-governmental organizations, and the media.

The first portion of the book is devoted to diverse views of the "push" factors that currently drive most migration and emigration, with emphasis on China. These include population growth, unemployment, and economic disparities between wealthy nations and other countries.

The result? Lead author and editor Paul J. Smith, research fellow with the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Hawaii, points out, "...smuggling organizations ranging in size and degree of sophistication are smuggling tens of thousands of people from poorer to richer countries..." in what has grown to a $7 billion per year worldwide operation. Since China supplies a large segment of their clientele, by 1991 there were "guesstimated" to be one half million Chinese living in the U.S. illegally.

Numbers tell the story. In China alone, the workforce of 707 million is estimated to be growing by 14 million annually. This surge represents the greatest market for the smuggling business since there is little job-creation. The Chinese Labor Ministry reports that unemployment alone could reach 153 million by the year 2000.

Meanwhile, the World Bank estimates more than 300 million Chinese (more than the total U.S. population) are living in poverty. Many in this population migrate to China's cities and along its "Gold Coast." Corrupt leaders of the coastal provinces provide a "channel" through which smugglers ply their trade.

Recipient countries such as Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, and Vietnam as well as Russia and the U.S. have complained to a Beijing that has little incentive to accept the return of illegals who have already emigrated.

***Helen Leavitt** is a Washington political writer and author. Her articles have appeared in numerous magazines and newspapers.*

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Ling Li, migration specialist at the International Organization for Migration in Washington, DC, describes the group behavior adopted in specific provinces that promote out-migration. For instance, although Fujian is one of the fastest-growing provinces, peasants are not as wealthy as their U.S. relatives in New York City. When the U.S. government opened the door to political asylum for Chinese immigrants in 1989, the smugglers coached clients through with bogus pleas, for a fee of $35,000 per head.

Residents of Fujian who made it to the United States, "the golden mountain," sent back cash to finance apartment buildings which, in turn, convinced local officials that illegal immigration provided much-needed investment and income generation. Even more important, those who stayed behind began to be pressured to follow the early trailblazers. Since New York City already had a large Fujianese population before 1989, almost all illegal Fujianese live in the Big Apple too.

Ling Li notes that Beijing is implementing programs such as pensions and increased state grain prices to narrow the gap between rural and urban incomes in China in an effort to stem the flow of farmers to urban areas.

Perhaps author Jack Goldstone summarizes the situation best when he writes "...in China, incomes in average cities are more than twice those in rural townships and villages; incomes in major coastal municipalities such as Shanghai and Guangzhou are 3 to 4 times higher than those in smaller interior cities; and average incomes in the United States and Hong Kong are 20 times higher than the average income in Shanghai."

Goldstone, of the University of California at Davis, argues that Beijing's efforts to discourage migration to the cities by subsidizing rural jobs will not keep people on farms, since the government cannot afford the cost of matching urban wages. Likewise, a recently enacted restriction on work permits in cities may only create an even larger pool of frustrated migrants seeking overseas work.

Author Marlowe Hood, editor at *Agence France Presse,* examines the role played by Taiwanese in smuggling Chinese around the world. The major hubs for smuggling Chinese to the U.S. are in Latin America but are run and controlled by Taiwan-born Chinese with core networks extending from mainland Fuzhou, one of the more prosperous provinces, to Taiwan, to lower Manhattan.

His interviews with dozens of migrants and aspiring migrants revealed that in assessing their quality of life, these Chinese "take their measure, not against the objective yardstick of the poorer past, but against their subjective expectations for the future." A decision to risk being smuggled into the U.S. illegally therefore often becomes a collective, family-based decision.

As one successful migrant explained, "Look at it this way — in terms of income potential for the average worker, one year in the United States equals 15 Chinese years." Holding up a postcard of the Statue of Liberty, another interviewee says, "I don't suppose it means the same thing to me as it does to you. For us, it doesn't mean freedom. It means opportunity."

Willard Myers, III, director of the Center for the Study of Asian Enterprise Crime in Pennsylvania, examines the routes utilized by residents of the two coastal provinces of Fujian and Guangdong. He also describes the *qinqing*, a mutually reciprocal economic obligation that binds the family together to form a vast network of obligations within the community. As a group, the male family members select "seed" immigrants who, once established overseas, are duty-bound to sponsor other relatives.

Immigrants from Fujian bought into this "relative-based" immigration to the U.S. in 1986. The *shetou* or "snakehead," the alien smuggler, was prepared. To us he is a criminal — to those who employ him he is a businessman — vitally needed to fulfill those family obligations. By 1986, Manhattan's Chinatown became the *shetou*'s customer base.

The actual process is relatively simple once the network is established. The *shetou* secures for each client a valid Chinese passport and exit papers plus air transport to Hong Kong, then a flight to Kennedy International after which the newly arrived illegal enters the streets of New York City without a hitch. Worse still, news of the very success of this operation spread rapidly to other provinces, fueling an ever-growing stream.

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New York *Newsday* editor Anthony M. De Stephano sketches the role played by citizens of Central America, which he labels "America's Immigration Underbelly."

He describes Gloria Canales of Costa Rica, who authorities arrested in 1995 as a major player in an operation that smuggled an estimated 10,000 "exotics" from India, Pakistan and China through Central America and Caribbean countries into Mexico and ultimately to major U.S. cities.

A 1995 report by an inter-agency U.S. government working group on smuggling activities in Central America concludes: "In addition to being a source of 200,00 to 300,000 illegal aliens who attempt to enter the United States, it has emerged as a transit route for some 100,000 aliens from outside the region (primarily Chinese, South Americans, and South Asians)." The report alleges that several smuggling rings and hundreds of independent smugglers operate in Central America, including travel agents, guides, and corrupt immigration and other government officials.

The network evolved when U.S. officials put pressure on some smuggling organizations located in St. Thomas and Cuba through prosecutions and Coast Guard interceptions during the early 1990s. The smuggling trade simply shifted its base to Costa Rica, Honduras and Belize, where it resumed receiving Chinese illegals flown from Europe.

Kenneth Yates is a detective with the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service and he devotes his essay to the role played by Canada as a corridor for smuggling illegals into the U.S. "...[T]he trafficking organizations prefer to use Singaporean, Malaysian, and British overseas passports because Canada does not require entry visas for those passports," he writes. Furthermore, Canada "has a reputation of welcoming almost everyone arriving at ports of entry, even though many government officials know that the majority of refugee claims are bogus," he continues.

Shortly after the infamous *Golden Venture* experience of June, 1993, smugglers shifted primarily to commercial flights bound for North America to ferry their clients who carry high-quality forged documents. Thus, successful government action must focus on interdicting aliens prior to boarding the aircraft, Yates points out.

The last author, Ko-lin Chin of Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice describes the deplorable conditions awaiting Chinese aliens when they arrive in America. Based on interviews the author conducted with social and church workers, members of advocacy groups, business owners and 300 illegals in New York's Chinese community, these conditions include gang-rapes, beatings, prostitution, strangulation, or sweatshop labor if the illegal owes any portion of the smuggling fee upon arrival.

In his foreword, author and editor Paul Smith states:

> *Until the demand for cheap immigrant labor subsides in the United States, or until the U.S. government forces it to subside, human smuggling will likely remain a constant element in America's immigration tradition. From this perspective, it could be argued that human smuggling from China is largely a self-generated problem for the United States that will go away only when the government decides to seriously enforce its immigration and labor laws.* TSC

Central Americans in the U.S.

World compassion toward hurricane-hit Central America just keeps on coming. The latest: The United States will not force some 150,000 illegal immigrants from Nicaragua and Honduras to return home for at least 18 months.

And as many as 165,000 illegal immigrants from Guatemala and 335,000 from El Salvador — two countries where the devastation was less — can avoid deportation until March 8.

U.S. officials figure that these immigrants will be able to send home millions of dollars if they are allowed to keep working in the U.S.

— From *The Christian Science Monitor*, Jan.11, 1999

[Editor's note: 150,000, 165,000 and 335,000 add up to 650,000]

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Finding Where We Are

The fascinating story of aids to navigation

Book Review by Ken Christensen

[Editor's note: *Since navigation has played such a critical role in the early years of transoceanic migration, we thought readers would be interested in this review of Sobel's book — a book which we found fascinating.*]

The quest for longitude (or more properly the means to locate it) seems archaic and obvious in these days of satellites and global positioning. But this ability to find out where we are and describe it so that others may follow is one of the great stories of the age of discovery. Dava Sobel has done a wonderful job of telling a complicated story in a straightforward, entertaining and blessedly brief account (the book, printed in a small format, is a quick read at 175 pages). The author introduces us to the subject of longitude and the problems inherent in "finding" it, then proceeds with the fascinating story of the great prize (£20,000, or approximately $12 million in today's money) offered by the English parliament in 1714 for a practical method of finding longitude at sea, and John Harrison, the man who spent his entire life in attempting to claim the prize.

Longitude
by Dava Sobel
New York:
Penguin USA
175 pages, $10.95 paperback

As everyone knows, latitudes are the horizontal lines on the globe and longitudes are the vertical lines. These lines existed at least as far back as 300 BC and Ptolemy, the Greek geographer in Alexandria, established longitude and latitude on his maps in 150 AD. Latitude was easily established by measuring the path of the sun, passing directly overhead at the equator. Longitude, however, was far more arbitrary; Ptolemy copied the circle giving the earth 360° of longitude and setting the zero longitude at the Canary Islands .

The need to accurately measure longitude became imperative in the age of discovery. Even Columbus couldn't measure longitude, so he stuck to a known latitude, and if America hadn't gotten in the way, he might have made it to India after all. For centuries, sailors relied on latitude readings by tracking the sun, and "dead reckoning" for the rest (often with disastrous results from not knowing one's longitude). In 1514, Johannes Werner, the German astronomer, struck on a way to use the motion of the moon as a location finder. This involved mapping all of the skies, sun, planets and stars, then measuring the moon's relation to them at different times and at different locations. This is obviously an extremely complicated method and even more so for a sailor at sea. In 1610, Galileo hit upon a remarkable method of fixing longitude by measuring the eclipses of Jupiter's moons. Although very reliable, this method also involved complicated calculations and the most obvious disadvantage of these celestial methods was cloudy skies.

The other method of finding longitude is by time. As Sobel writes:

> *To learn one's longitude at sea, one needs to know what time it is aboard ship and also the time at the home port or another place of known longitude — at that very moment. The two clock times enable the navigator to convert the hour difference into a geographical separation. Since the earth takes 24 hours to complete one full revolution of 360°, one hour marks one twenty-fourth of a spin, or fifteen degrees. And so each hour's time difference between the ship and the starting point marks a progress of fifteen degrees of longitude to the*

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east or west. Every day at sea, when the navigator resets his ship's clock, every hour's discrepancy between them translates into another fifteen degrees of longitude.

This solution is obviously simpler than the complicated celestial observations; however, one major problem remained: no clock was accurate enough to perform the task, especially a clock at sea, exposed to different temperatures, humidities, gravity, and the pitching of waves.

Sobel breezily takes us through the history of the problem touching on the work of the great astronomers, Galileo, Gemma (?), Frisius, Ole Roemer, Tycho Brahe, Giovanni Cassubum and others. On the other side of the problem/solution worked the clockmakers (who were often astronomers also) such as Vincenzo Viviani, Galileo's protégé,. Christiaan Huygens, and Robert Hooke, all working in the 1600s. The problem became more urgent as Spain, France, and England sailed the seas exploring and conquering. Not only were there shipwrecks due to miscalculations, but by timidly sticking to common latitudes, there was more chance of crowded sea-lanes, piracy and conflict. The astronomical solution seemed the most promising, so the kings of both France and England established royal observatories, in Paris in 1666, and at Greenwich shortly afterwards. Naturally, both claimed to be at the center of the world, or 0° longitude.

Establishing the difficulty of the problem takes up the first third of the book, whereupon Sobel shifts the focus to John Harrison who solved the problem, but not easily and at the cost of great struggles and great obstacles thrown in his path. Harrison's solution was a near perfect clock — he built not one, but four, between 1737 and 1760. The nemesis who blocked his path to claiming the prize was Nevil Maskelyne, who, not surprisingly, was the royal astronomer who sought a celestial solution to the problem. Eventually, two large camps evolved — clock makers and astronomers, the latter looking down their noses at the former for being mere mechanics. Maskelyne eventually arrived at a solution with the publication of his book, *The Nautical Almanac and Astronomical Ephemeris* published in 1766. Although his method of plotting the moon worked, the calculations and observations were so complicated that they resulted in more errors than Harrison's simpler clock method.

Dava Sobel does a wonderful job of portraying the two men, their lives, work and conflicts. The story doesn't fall far short of the drama of Soliari and Mozart. And, as always, time and truth are the final judges. A simple scientific tale involves all the elements of human rivalry: a great prize, jealousies, competition, political intrigues, even world domination and finally, a bit of justice. The book is also a timeless tale of man's explorations, of wanting to know where he is, where he's going, and how to get back again! And, as with every great scientific pursuit, great discoveries were made accidentally along the way, such as the speed of light, the mapping of the stars of both hemispheres, the movement of stars in time, and, of course, advances in telescopes and clocks and their workings.

"...a timeless tale of man's explorations, of wanting to know where he is, where he's going and how to get back again!"

Dava Sobel is a former science writer for the *New York Times*, as well as contributor to *Audubon, Discover, Life,* and *Omni* magazines. The concluding chapter of *Longitude* is a very touching account of her personal visit to zero longitude in Greenwich (where this writer also straddled that magic line embedded in the pavement). The Maritime Museum in Greenwich is the actual home of Harrison's four clocks. Sobel writes, "Coming face to face with these machines at last, after having read countless accounts of their construction and trial, after having seen every detail of their insides and outsides in still and moving pictures, reduced me to tears."

This book may not reduce you to tears, but it will give you a sense of wonder and will raise your eyes from the little lines on maps that we take for granted, and raise them to larger thoughts of time and space and man's struggle to find out where he is. TSC

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Far From Paradise

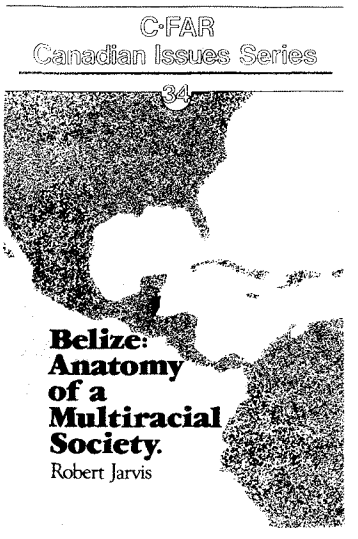
Is there any place on the planet where multiculturalism is really successful?

Review by Wayne Lutton

Belize: Anatomy of a Multi-Racial Society
by Robert Jarvis
40 pages, $5.00
C-FAR, P.O. Box 332, Station "B"
Etobicoke, Ontario, M9W 5L3, Canada

If the world has any ends, British Honduras [Belize] would certainly be one of them.
— Aldous Huxley, *Beyond Mexique Bay*

In his latest monograph, Canadian historian and world traveler Robert Jarvis focuses on the small Caribbean country of Belize, viewed by some American scuba divers and eco-tourists as a multicultural paradise. Multicultural it is. But Jarvis, who has spent parts of four decades in the former British colony, finds it wracked by deep tensions. And Belize is undergoing a major power shift along racial and ethnic lines that is already having an impact on the United States.



First settled by loggers and pirates in the 17th century, British Honduras (as it was officially designated until independence in 1981) became inhabited by a collection of whites, "Creoles" having some African ancestry, Mestizos (perhaps 40% of the population), Garifunas (descendants of Caribbean Blacks comprising 6.6% of the population in 1991), and Mayas. In more recent decades they have been joined by Chinese, whose numbers are growing through immigration, as well as Mennonites from Canada, who began to arrive in 1958, following a Canadian government decision forcing their children to enroll in public schools. The Mennonites signed an agreement with the government, allowing them complete freedom to practice their form of Protestantism and farm within their closed communities. As Jarvis notes, the Mennonites "are responsible for making chicken the national dish and for producing most of the marijuana exported from Belize."

Agriculture, primarily the raising of sugar cane, bananas, and citrus fruit concentrate extraction, along with modest forestry and fishing industries, account for most of the legal economic activity outside of tourism. While Belize enjoyed economic growth into the 1990s, with its foreign debt being the smallest related to export income of any Central American country, this prosperity depended on preferential access to the large U.S. and European markets, now threatened by various "free trade" agreements. High labor costs and low productivity will not permit Belize to compete effectively in the future against Latin American low-cost producers and North American, Mexican, and Guatemalan agricultural and manufactured products.

Per capita, Belize is one of the world's top recipients of U. S. and Canadian foreign aid. This Western economic support has gone far to dampen the consequences of the country's high levels of un-and-under-employment. But the situation can only get worse. Forty-five percent of the population is under the age of 15, and their birth rate of 5.2 children per family is one of the highest in the world. The

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percentage of children born to single women continues to increase (from 43% of all live births in 1970 to 57% by 1990, and 67% in Belize City).

Like the United States, an ethnic transformation is underway in Belize. There, the once majority Black population is giving way to Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants. Spanish is now the first language of over half the population. "Pan American Day" has become a national holiday. A 1984 amnesty for all illegal aliens then living in Belize only spurred additional immigration. Government officials contend that the waves of refugees and illegal economic migrants prompted the crisis of crime and violence, which has seen Belize rise to a position among the top ranks of Latin American drug exporters. This is the foundation of an illegal economy permeating all levels of society.

As Central Americans move in, native Belizeans are in turn migrating northward. By the mid-1990s, one in five were living in the United States, concentrating in greater Los Angeles. Most of them enter illegally, either arriving without valid documen-tation, or by overstaying their non-immigrant visas.

For those remaining in Belize, Jarvis sees a future of increasing tensions. Central Americans look upon the area (four times the size of Jamaica) as a fertile land they can populate. Chinese and East Indians run many of the shops and restaurants. Local politicians have tried to ignite a "Black Power" movement, but to small effect. For the native Black Creoles, "spiritually, he has already abandoned Belize for America," the author observes.

Robert Jarvis has written a revealing case study of a country undergoing an immigration-induced demographic revolution. As we witness in Belize, "multi-racialism" is not an end in itself. Rather, it is a way station marking the eclipse of one or more established groups as different people, in what once was their homeland, displace them.

Dewy-eyed supporters of multiculturalism endlessly assert that multiracial societies are more desirable places to live. Colorful ethnic festivals and a gourmand's heaven of culinary diversity are chief among the images "multi-culties" invoke. But where is there a successful multi-ethnic or bi-racial country? One has yet to be found, on this planet, anyway.

TSC

Television As a 'Push Factor

Up until the 1980s, radio was the most influential media form in Belize. Radio Belize broadcasts in English and Spanish. More recently television is everyone's favorite. There are four stations with another thirty channels available through satellite. Three young gap-toothed, rasta-haired visitors from Livingstone, Guatemala, were seen sitting in Chinese restaurant, mesmerized by a television. Dandriga is the high spot of civilization, to those from a society with no modern technology. Belizean society has been shaken by the effects of the technology of television. Some children have been seriously hurt by attempting to mimic stunts.

Many illiterate or mentally slow youths seem to realize that in order to obtain the Cadillacs, Rolex watches, and other goods presented to them on the TV, they must go to the U.S. Once there, the only work open to them are low-paid, unskilled jobs which soon lose their appeal. These youths eventually drift into a life of crime and drugs. They are looked down upon by other minorities as being country bumpkins." Young Belizeans do not fare well in the drug wars against utterly ruthless Jamaican posses in New York, and Chicago gangs in Los Angeles.

Another effect of the television revolution is the American-ization of the Belizean youth. Their lilting, sing-song dialect is being replaced by hard-edged accents of the South Bronx and South-central L.A. With Doc Johnson's mondettas and Malcolm X baseball caps turned to the side, youths are virtually indistinguishable from their counterparts in inner city, USA.

— From *Belize: Anatomy of a Multi-Racial Society*

By Robert Jarvis

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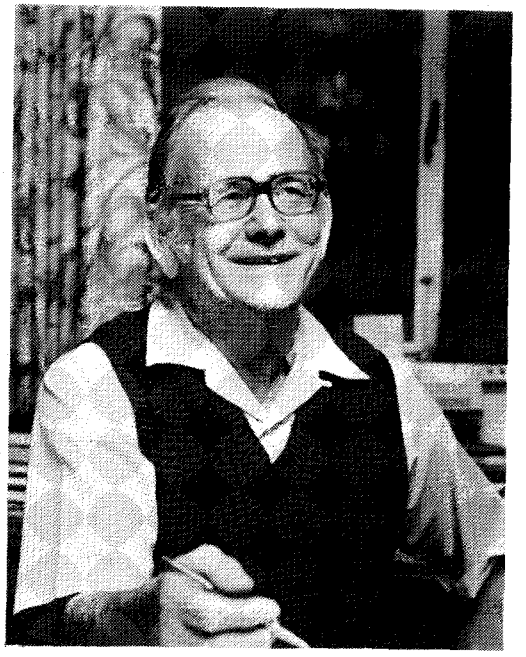

Garrett Hardin, Ph.D., is Professor Emeritus of Human Ecology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The author of numerous books, essays, articles and reviews, he has been a guest speaker and panelist on many national radio and television programs, as well as at scientific conventions, public meetings and university forums. With humane concern and lucidity he applies basic biological knowledge to the practical problems of mankind.

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